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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

16 OCTOBER 1987

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## SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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PRAVDA WARNS PARTY TO SHOW GREATER SEVERITY WITHIN OWN RANKS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jun 87 p 1

[Unattributed article: "For the Pure Name of Communist. This Has Been and Remains a Most Important Law of Our Party's Life]

[Text] Let us begin with a letter from A. Andreyev, a Muscovite, who communicated to the editors his reflections on the purity of the Party calling:

"I was cut, right to the quick, by a conversation I chanced to hear. A couple of middle-aged people, intellectuals to all appearances, were having a leisurely talk. 'How are things--are you getting on in your job?' one asked. The answer: 'I've been getting on slowly, but now it'll go more quickly. I've managed to snag a membership.'

"I do not know their names, but I am profoundly convinced that these are the sort of people who are scornfully and accurately called party hangers-on. They discuss what is for millions of Soviet people an object of great veneration--a party membership card!--as if it were a pass to some kind of privileges, to a career."

One cannot fail to agree with this opinion. People do not want and will not condone instances of penetration into the party by those who are far removed from its true ideals.

Resolutions taken at the 27th Congress and the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which defined the main directions of restructuring noted the need for the ongoing clearing away of negative phenomena as one of the most important and urgent tasks. The name of a party member should always be pure and honorable.

A real Communist does not besmirch his high calling with an unworthy act. And such people are the overwhelming majority in the party. But it would be premature to hold that measures taken in recent years to reinforce discipline, orderliness, and morality, to strengthen exigence and adherence to principle have already put our party's house completely in order. The editors' mailbag still quite frequently carries alarm signals from the localities: here they

are messing up the reconstruction, there they are trying to live and behave as of old...

The party's strength is its exigence and cohesion. It will set straight anyone who has lost himself in complex circumstances, will convince anyone in doubt, will arouse anyone who has begun to doze. And it will dispense severe punishment for the betrayal of principles and ideals.

"I knew a fellow villager who got on like a house afire in his appointments, and even became a worker on the oblast party committee," A. Gorshkov writes to Pravda from Rostov Oblast. "But all his highways and byways turned out to be crooked. The 'ascent' ended ingloriously. He was expelled from the CPSU and censured." At party plenums which took place not long ago, there was candid talk, regardless of rank and past services, of people who had compromised themselves. The party organizations of Russia, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and other union republics are decisively cleansing their ranks. The measures are severe but just. Those who have besmirched themselves with unseemly affairs do not and cannot have a place in the party of Lenin!

There is but one privilege for communists: to be always in the forefront. Where it is most difficult. One could tell of many remarkable people, both supervisors and rank-and-file, who see the entire meaning of their lives in service to the people, the party, the Motherland. One is even more invigorated by their conviction, ideological commitment, and passionate purposefulness. One breathes easily and works confidently with people like that.

Here is one of those people: D. Sharipov. For more than 15 years he has headed the Cherdaklinskiy rayon party committee of the Ulyanov oblast CPSU. During those years there has been stable growth in the rayon's economic system and all economic concerns are now showing a profit. But the most important thing is that a reliable system of cadre selection and education has taken shape in which qualities such as a businesslike address, honesty, and moral cleanliness are especially valued and cultivated. Just one fact: recently 11 people from the Cherdaklin reserve have been promoted as CPSU rayon committee secretaries in other rayons. Sharipov's contemporary leadership style and principles are being disseminated and deepened by his successors.

"Personal perquisites?" Damir Ismagilovich inquired in amazement when he was asked about this. He did not even think about them. He just lives, distinguishing himself in no way from his associates by personal pretensions. Modesty and decency in such party members is not a temporary condition but an inflexible core, and ineradicable character trait.

And instances of a different stripe? They also occur. A conscientious worker, who used to manifest good qualities, is moved up the service ladder and suddenly begins to imagine that nothing is now forbidden him. Where does the openness, the simplicity, the need for advice go? The ego comes into the foreground, the voice takes on a peremptory timbre, and then the excessive exercise of power and abuses not infrequently ensure. Such people are called degenerates. It is hard for honest people to watch them getting drunk on power.

However, there are cases where the guilty are absolved of responsibility. How is such protection to be explained? Reference is made, for example, to the lack of a replacement. Or friendly sentiments suddenly prevail: well, really, we have worked together for so long... Or it can go a different way: those who are at fault are shielded by degenerates like themselves. Not so long ago the central press published a whole spate of reports from Michurinsk in Tambov Oblast. Machinations with accommodation, speculation in spare parts, the rudeness of supervisory workers... And here is another signal from that town. B. Kuznetsov, the former manager of the Michurinsk Agropromstroy Trust, who was expelled from the CPSU, is now one of the supervisors of rural residential construction for that combine. Some officials who were involved in a sensational row over the theft of automobile parts in one of the local enterprises are also "coming back to life" after being punished.

The struggle for the purity of his name is the business of every communist, regardless of the job he does. Can, for instance, all the so-called rank-and-file party members really state with pride that their moral image is crystal-clear? There are places where they have come to terms with worker absenteeism, drunkenness, and violations of labor discipline, and with a party membership card in their pockets at that. We will not establish exemplary order until we set to it with one accord in all quarters. There should be no mutes and apostates in this business.

To be an example in all things, at work, in study, in everyday life, in the implementation of the imposing plans of reconstruction, is the communist's direct duty. The destinies of the country, whose masters we all are, can be decided only with honest intentions, an ardent heart, clean hands, and an spotless conscience.

That is why the approach to acceptance into the ranks of the CPSU should be particularly careful and strict at this time. There is a place in the party only for those who are worthy. There can be no other considerations. The role of primary party organizations grows particularly in this connection. It is precisely here that the political, workmanlike, and moral qualities of future communists should be painstakingly studied. Those making recommendations bear full responsibility for them, but other members of the primary party organization are also responsible for those who will replenish their ranks. One must not only have a clear idea about everyone who enters the CPSU but also exercise exacting control over the conduct of comrades in the party organization and not allow one single violation of statutory requirements to go unpunished. The time also imposes new tasks upon the party commissions of the rayon and city party committees.

We wish to end this conversation with lines from a letter written by L. Kosykh, a worker from Dushanbe: "The main issue today is: who is the mainstay of the reconstruction? The answer is clear: communists. And those of us who are not in the party, as in years gone by, will ascend behind you. We believe that together we will achieve the desired goal."

13185  
CSO:1800/685

NEW ENTERPRISE LAW DOES NOT END MINISTRIES' RESPONSIBILITIES

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by A. Zhdanov: "Taking On Responsibility: Letters from Ministries and Departments"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] Together with V. Ustinov, secretary of the ministry's party committee, we added the number of times the electrical engineering industry has been a leader in new undertakings: putting into effect the material resources conservation program, participating in the experiment to expand the rights and responsibilities of enterprises, streamlining management structures and cutting managerial staff.... Certainly, not all these undertakings were completed successfully. The ministry is still faced with a lot of unresolved problems which require the most serious attention.

"When restructuring the work of the ministry," said V. Ustinov, "the party committee lays emphasis on increasing the responsibility of industry staff regardless of rank or previous services."

WHO CRITICIZES WHOM

Indeed, in the last one and a half to two years the topic of responsibility has been raised at party committee meetings and party conferences a lot more persistently and vigorously than before. More and more often, urgent problems involved with improving industry leadership, and problems faced by managers who participate personally in the struggle for acceleration are brought up before collective courts.

The approach to strengthening party influence and responsibility itself has changed in many respects. It has become more business-like. The introduction of joint meetings of party chief directorate bureaus and ministry departments and services has helped turn mutual accusations into constructive dialogue. It was this same goal, but at the interindustry level, that the party committee set for itself when it took the initiative last year to discuss pressing problems jointly with the party committees of a number of other ministries. One way of increasing responsibility is for communists to be held accountable for their work.



However, if one takes a closer look at who is held accountable and how, who criticizes whom and what the outcome of that criticism is, it becomes clear that the party committee, having chosen the right direction, is still far from achieving its goal.

I began reflecting on these matters after talking with N. Kuznetsova and A. Machugin, both of whom are communists and senior engineers in the main production department. The conversation turned to the role of the all-ministry party meetings. I ask them how senior management reacts to criticism from subordinates, and whether it causes conflicts and hostility. My interlocutors shrugged their shoulders:

"It is difficult for us to judge because we have not spoken at any of the general meetings yet."

"What about your colleagues and co-workers?"

"You know, it is not customary for rank-and-file workers to be given the floor at all-ministry meetings. Most often it is secretaries of party bureaus, deputy ministers, chief directorate and department heads, in general, the management...."

As I found out later, my interlocutors should have skipped the words "most often." Amazingly enough, in the last two years none of the participants in the discussions at the all-ministry party meetings has held a position lower than deputy department head.

In my attempts to understand why this happens, I was confronted with the following point of view: only people with a comprehensive grasp of all the information can give a competent judgement of industry's problems brought up at all-ministry party meetings. So that's how it is.... No-one considers it inappropriate when a rank-and-file communist worker or communist engineer speaks up at a factory party meeting. Then why should a rank-and-file communists ministry employee keep quiet at a similar meeting within his organization?

And it's not as though there isn't anything to say. Warming to the topic, Kuznetsova and Machugin had me take note of a number of disturbing problems, including difficulties with the principles used to select ministry staff, the decrease in the prestige attached to work performed by ministry employees, problems involved in determining the optimum distribution of Minelektrotekhprom (Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry) production capacities among the country's regions, shortages of office equipment, and shortcomings in the mechanization and automation of managerial labour....

Some of the decisions taken by the party committee make you wonder.

The committee's resolution with respect to Deputy Minister L. Safronkov's report on the organizational work involved in improving the foreign trade activities of the industry looks strange. Admitting that a lot of questions in that sphere remain unresolved due to the fact that the deputy minister was not sufficiently demanding or persistent, the party committee nevertheless

limited itself to the notorious excuse that it is "puzzled." And in a very general way at that. It is not even addressed at Safronkov himself, but to communists as a whole in at least a dozen different ministry departments.

By contrast, the resolution of the party committee with respect to Deputy Minister N. Galev's report on his management of operations related to the development of the Moscow subway makes a clear-cut evaluation. But of whom? Noting that the industry's commitments to the builders and operators of the subway were not met, the party committee gives a stern warning to...two Glavtyazhelektromash (Central Administration of Heavy Electrical Machinery) managers and points to the inaction of one of the deputy managers in the production equipment department. The question of communist Galev's responsibility remains unanswered.

However, after considering violations that occurred during the start-up of operations at the Cherkassk special production equipment plant, the party committee imposed penalties on a number of senior managers, which penalties were subsequently recorded in their respective work records.

I cannot state categorically that Safronkov and Galev also deserved some kind of penalty. Nonetheless, we may well ask why it is that the results of some people's activities are judged unequivocally and penalized at party committee meetings, while those of others receive no penalties at all?

It did not take long to get an answer to this question. It turns out that the situation at the Cherkassk plant had already been assessed by the Party Control Committee within the CPSU Central Committee before the ministry party committee intervened.

The following episode can hardly be considered an achievement either. In May of last year five communist managers presented their reports at an all-ministry party meeting. The discussions, as expected, were pretty superficial. So was the resolution. It is impossible to comprehend what the goal of that resolution was: to reveal the level of efficiency of the work of each of the managers, or merely to list the numerous problems. Suffice it to say that the resolution mentions about 30(!) names of communists employed by the ministry and its subdivisions.

It is obvious that there is enough criticism. But this criticism is not always reflected in a logical, clear and democratic way in the resolutions.

#### BEHIND THE DIRECTOR'S BACK

At a meeting of Minelektrotekhprom communists, the following fact was cited. In an effort to set up production of electrical fret-saws, the manager of an enterprise under the ministry's jurisdiction initiated the process by sending a letter to the ministry with a request for referral to a decent design bureau that could develop the required model.

"Where does all this parasitism come from?" Yu. Nikitin, the deputy minister to whom the ill-fated letter had been addressed, asked indignantly at the meeting.

An indirect answer to this question is contained in a speech by this same Nikitin at another party meeting. Speaking about the necessity for restructuring people's thinking, he noted:

"The solution to our problems depends for the most part on how many of the ideas that we have come up with reach the director, the engineer and the work crew. Success will only come when the whole chain linking the top with the bottom is permeated by the same production ideology."

No doubt all this is true. But the question arises: precisely what ideology does "the top," i.e. the ministry and its party committee, subscribe to in its relations with its subdivisions. Let's turn to the facts.

In 1984, after joining the economic experiment, the "Elektromashina" plant in Ulan-Uden fulfilled one hundred percent of its contract deliveries. The following year it was only slightly below its target. Labour productivity rose considerably, production costs decreased and the rate at which new electric motors were being put into production increased. Morale improved along with the psychological climate in the shops and offices as people became convinced that good work could result in good pay.

In short, at the beginning of last year the plant was on the upswing. But then when the annual plan was already approved and accepted for fulfillment, Glavelektromash (of which the plant is a component) set an additional task without providing absolutely any additional material resources or equipment: to increase the output of electric motors to 1,050. The workers and staff were driven to despair. But neither the director's letters of protests nor his telephone calls nor his meetings in Moscow with senior directorate and ministry officials produced any effect.

"In reality, everyone, including myself, knew very well from the very beginning that the Ulan-Uden plant would not be able to increase its output of electrical motors by the amount called for in the plan," Glavelektromash's director A. Vandyshv confirmed. "But what could we do? The delayed requirement that production be increased was not our whim. A letter to that effect came from Gosstab (State Committee for Material and Technical Supply)."

"And what if everyone refused to accept this clearly impossible task?" I asked the manager.

He looked at me condescendingly. "There is such a thing as state discipline, and we are obliged to abide by it...."

"But still...."

"We would be punished."

After giving this some thought, A. Vandyshv makes a suggestion: "Had the director of Elektromashina been more active in this situation.... For instance, in Yaroslavl we have a general director by the name of Akhunov. He probably would have gone higher and gotten what he wanted."



What strange logic. In other words, the more assiduously a director knocks on the doors not only of ministries but also of other central economic organizations, the better he is? Why the didn't the chief directorate party organizations or even the ministry party committee, intervene in the conflict over a year ago? Why, finally, did the communists at Gossnab remain passive in the face of such a blatant violation of the principles of the experiment?

No serious attempt was made to investigate the situation. And what is the result? Not even the delayed revision of the plan and reduction of the quota, which they were finally forced into could save the plant. The advantages gained in the course of the experiment were lost during the conflict and the year's plan fell through.

And this is by no means an isolated case of a ministry and its chief directorates' having failed to solve some specific problem, some local contradiction, and the party committee and Minelektrotekhprom party organizations' remaining passive.

For example, the Kondensator plant at Serpukhov has been ailing now for years. In an effort to provide assistance, ministry executives, including deputy ministers, have beaten a path to this plant. After each trip, a report is written outlining who is responsible and what should be done to improve the situation. But what are these papers worth if all the requirements and assignments they contain remain unfulfilled as before. Why? The party committee asked this question only after it received an urgent request from the Moscow party obkom to call to account all those whose signatures appeared on the reports.

In another example, it was only after the intervention of some local party bodies, in this case the Stavropol gorkom and kray committee, that the production of electric drives, new in name only, was halted. From the very beginning of production, plant engineers and workers at "Elektroavtomatika" complained to the designers and specialists at Glavelektroapparat (Central Administration for the Production of Low-Voltage Apparatus) and ministry about the model's serious shortcomings.

And what was the outcome? The obstinate attempts to force virtually outdated technology on plant workers could not be stopped even by the sharp criticism voiced at the Stavropol kray conference of communists by Elektroavtomatika brigade-leader N. Selyukov. The first quarter plan for 1987 included the manufacture of the first thousand of the "new" drives. It is only recently that common sense has prevailed.

How can we talk of "unity of production ideology" if the ministry still refuses to give up its attempts to shift its functions and responsibilities to the enterprises? Here are all the reasons we need to make sure that the party uses its influence a great deal more.

"After starting the Five-Year Plan with a good lead and after registering improvements in 1986, this year we have fallen out of step," said O. Anfimov, minister of the electrical engineering industry. "Plans for the first few

months have not been fulfilled. Least of all are we ready to face the objective reasons. Today as never before it is vital to increase the organizational role of the industry's staff, to implement without fail the decisions that have been taken, to avoid declarative statements and administration by injunction, and to take on responsibility for carrying out reforms more boldly. And we cannot do this without the support of the party committee and all communists."

The minister is right. Today is the time to take on responsibility in full measure. For increasing the independence of enterprises does not mean that industry staff and management can now wash their hands and brush aside vital problems. We are not talking here about replacing management, but about creating the most favorable conditions possible for their work. Therefore, the responsibilities of industry leadership should increase, not decrease.

CSO: 1800/723  
13206

ArSSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON INADEQUATE HEALTH CARE, AIR SERVICE

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 87 p 1

[Armenpress item: "In the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR"]

[Excerpt] A scheduled meeting discussed measures to remove shortcomings and further improve medical assistance to the public. The adopted resolution noted that the health-care organs were taking inadequate measures to effect radical improvement in the quality of the curative and preventive assistance being given and the work of inpatient and outpatient facilities. There are serious shortcomings in infant health care.

The Ministry of Health, the executive committees of the urban and rayon soviets of people's deputies, the Ministry of Construction, and the State Agro-Industrial Committee are not devoting due attention to the development of the network of curative and preventive facilities, are reconciling themselves to the unsatisfactory state of their material and technical base, are not assimilating allocated capital investments, and are extending the deadlines for the construction and start-up of health-care projects. They are enjoined to draft concrete measures to remove shortcomings and derelictions in the organization of medical and curative provision for the republic's population, and to enhance decisively the level and quality of the curative and preventive assistance given. It is essential to ensure, as a matter of priority, the development of pediatric and obstetric services, to enhance the level of medical assistance given to children and mothers. Strict administrative measures should be taken with regard to the supervisors of health-care organs and facilities and to medical workers who are guilty of permitting serious shortcomings in the organization of public medical assistance.

The executive committees of the city and rayon soviets are enjoined to give necessary assistance in strengthening the material and technical base of curative and preventive facilities, in conducting current and capital repairs, and in acquiring equipment and inventory for them. Concern and attention must be shown to medical workers, and measures must be taken to improve housing conditions and personal services for them and to secure, on priority terms, accommodation for young specialists sent to work on assignment.

The Armenian Council of Trade Unions is advised to cooperate with the Ministry of Health in taking concrete steps to prevent and further reduce temporary disability and permanent infirmity retirement in connection with occupational diseases.

\* \* \*

An inspection conducted by the Armenian SSR People's Control Committee has established that there are shortcomings in the public services provided by the Armenian Civil Aviation Administration and certain ministries and departments, and by the executive committees of city and rayon councils of people's deputies. Airport services are to blame for the fact that a significant number of flights are delayed and for the shortcomings in the organization of technical aircraft maintenance work.

Services for passengers on international flights are in an unsatisfactory state and are not in keeping with established norms. A shortage of airline booking offices in Yerevan and Leninakan is causing long lines, especially in the peak period of summer travel.

The number of flights established by the plan is not in balance with the actual demand. Sanitary conditions and personal services in the majority of the republic's airports are not of a due standard. Many of them have no hot water supply or heating, and boards giving information on flights and seat availability are lacking. There are also shortcomings in public catering, long distance telephone links, the postal service, etc.

The Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR enjoined the Civil Aviation Administration to draft measures directed at the more complete satisfaction of the public's and republican economy's demand for air transport, paying particular attention to the work of airport services to ensure a high regularity of flights and the suitable preparation of aircraft for their runs, to balance the number of flights with the actual demand for air transport, and to enhance the standard of passenger service.

13185  
CSO: 1830/575

INFORMATION REPORT ON 1 AUGUST TAJIK CP CC PLENUM

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 2 Aug 87 p 2

[Text] The Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan was held in Dushanbe on 1 August.

Obkom second secretaries; gorkom and raykom first secretaries; ispolkom chairmen of oblast, city, and rayon soviets of people's deputies; leaders of ministries, republic-level departments, large enterprises, organizations, and farms; individual primary party organization secretaries; scholars; Tajik CP Central Committee officials; officials from the Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers, the People's Control Committee, the Tajik Trade Unions Council, and the Tajik Komsomol Central Committee; and mass media and propaganda employees, all of whom do not belong to the Tajik CP Central Committee, took part in the plenum activities.

The following questions were discussed at the plenum:

1. The results of the June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the tasks of the republic party organization with respect to accelerating socioeconomic development on the basis of a fundamental restructuring of administrative methods.
2. An account of the growth in membership of the republic party organization during the first half of 1987.

Tajik CP Central Committee First Secretary K.M. Makhkamov delivered a report dealing with the first item on the agenda.

The following people took part in the discussion following this report: T.M. Mirkhalikov, Leninabad Obkom first secretary; I.I. Kurbanov, Tajik SSR Gosagroprom deputy chairman; V.R. Krayushkin, chief engineer at the USSR 50th Anniversary Garment Production Association in Dushanbe; S. Beknazarov, Gorno-Badakhshan Obkom first secretary; A.K. Khamsariyev, heavy machinery base driver at the Rogungesstroy construction administration; I.Ye. Ponomarev, CPSU Central Committee official; B.E. Khudoyerova, section head at the Gorkiy kolkhoz, Kommunisticheskiy Rayon; V.I. Medvedev, Tajik SSR minister of the construction materials industry; Ch.Kh. Fayzova, milkmaid at the Shatalov kolkhoz, Kulyabskiy Rayon;



I.F. Glazunov, director of the Anzobskiy Concentrating Combine; Sh.K. Kalandarov, Tajik SSR minister of light industry; A.Kh. Khalimov, Dushanbe Gorkom first secretary; M.S. Asimov, president of the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences; Yu.P. Zatsarinyy, deputy chairman of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers; S.Sh. Ashurov, chairman of Tajik SSR Gosstab.

Yu.Ye. Sukhov, director of the Tajik CP Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, provided information on the growth in membership of the republic party organization during the first half of 1987.

The following people took part in the discussion following this report:

V.S. Savelyeva, Zheleznodorozhnyy Raykom first secretary; Sh. Klichev, former secretary of the party organization at the D. Rasulov sovkhos, Ilichevskiy Rayon; M.Yu. Yusufdzhanov, Chkalovskiy Gorkom first secretary.

The Tajik CP Central Committee adopted the appropriate resolutions following discussion of these questions.

The plenum also dealt with an administrative matter. In view of her confirmation as deputy chairperson of the All-Union Znaniye Society, G.B. Bobosadykova was released from her duties as Tajik CP Central Committee secretary and bureau member.

A.I. Mayorets, CPSU Central Committee member and USSR minister of power and electrification, took part in the plenum activities.

The Tajik CP Central Committee plenum thereupon completed its work.

(An account of the proceedings of the Sixth Tajik CP Central Committee Plenum will be published.)

CSO: 1830/647

KIRGHIZ MINISTER CRITICIZED FOR LOW QUALITY GOODS

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 5 Apr 87 p 12

[Unattributed report: "In the Kirghiz SSR Committee of People's Control: The Ministry of Local Industry: No Change" ]

[Text] The People's Control Committee of the Kirghiz SSR has examined how the resolution they adopted on November 25, 1985 "On the Fulfillment of the State Plan for the Production and Delivery of Consumer Goods in a Given Assortment and Possessing Quality in the Clothing Branch Enterprises of the Ministry of Local Industry of the Kirghiz SSR" is being fulfilled.

The study indicated that the Ministry of Local Industry of the Republic (minister, comrade K. A. Abdraev) and the majority of the enterprises of the clothing and fur branches under his jurisdiction have not conducted a fundamental restructuring [perestroika] in light of the requirements of the Party and government, and have not taken effective measures to eliminate the problems noted earlier by the People's Control Committee of the Kirghiz SSR.

In the past year, more than five million rubles worth of goods were not delivered to consumers. An agreement on the delivery of products was not fulfilled by 9 out of 15 enterprises. In the assortment of goods, 8.5 million rubles worth of products were not delivered. The principle reasons for the failure to meet the targets were the untimely production and technological preparation for production, the unevenness of work and rush work, the poor state of equipment, and also serious neglect in the preparation and consolidation of cadres. As usual, the quality and the technological level of the products have not met the requirements of the buyers. The proportion of the products of improved quality with the index "N" is low, and wholesale firms and state inspection organs have rejected one out of five items. Economic sanctions have been applied to 70 percent of the enterprises, and the total number of sanctions has increased by 1.5 times in comparison with 1985 and reached 400 thousand rubles. An integrated system to control the quality of products is not functioning, many production processes are not monitored, and responsibility for the production of rejects has been minimized. The production control branch (OTK) organs are not ensuring an objective evaluation of the quality of products. There is a persistent striving to maintain the planned indices through increasing the output of less labor intensive and unplanned products, part of which are not sold. As a result,



there were 1,400,000 rubles worth of excess finished products just at the enterprises that were monitored as of January 1, 1987.

An extremely unfavorable situation ensued at the Alamedin Fur Production Union (General Director comrade A. O. Omuraliev, Chief Engineer comrade V. N. Gorbunova). Here the production of fur products dropped against 1985 figures, with a deficiency of more than two million rubles. In addition, 282 million rubles worth of fur which had been processed for sewing into fur products was not delivered to organizations of the Ministry of Domestic Services for the Public. A check of a portion of the raw materials, indicated that it was moth-eaten. The raw materials are being uneconomically used, and their timely reception and preparation are not being ensured. The General Director of the Union comrade A. O. Omuraliev remained aloof from decisions on production questions.

The director of a wool and fur factory, comrade R. R. Sayfullin showed personal irresponsibility when a batch of defective half-finished products were produced under his direction for sewing fur articles. He also ignored a ban by the Republican Directorate of the USSR Committee on State Standards on the production of men's jackets, 45 percent of which were found to be defective during a check.

A similar situation ensued in the Emgek Republican Domestic Labor Production Union (acting General Director, comrade B. U. Urmambetov, Chief Engineer, comrade K. Abdymomunova). Last year, almost 800 thousand rubles worth of products were not delivered to market consumers though raw materials and other materials were all completely available. A plan for producing and delivering school aprons for girls, clothing outfits for boys, and medical clothing was not fulfilled. Instead more than a half million rubles worth of unplanned products were sewn, part of which accumulated in the union warehouse. The work of the home laborers was poorly used here, while the engineering services operated weakly, and the waste was great (OTK director comrade A. N. Utkina).

In a resolution adopted by the People's Control Committee of the Kirghiz SSR, it is stated that the Ministry of Local Industry and primarily the First Deputy Minister comrade S. Zh. Balbakova, approached the tasks placed before his branch without the proper responsibility.

The People's Control Committee of the Kirghiz SSR has pointed out to the Minister of Local Industry of the Kirghiz SSR comrade K. A. Abdraev, the presence of the most gross breach of state, plan and contractual discipline, and the low quality of consumer products produced in the majority of enterprises responsible to him. It is suggested that he consider this problem with his colleagues and take effective measures to eliminate the deficiencies and violations discovered by the examination. First Deputy Minister of Local Industry of the Republic, comrade S. Zh. Balbakov was issued a stern reprimand with a fine of one month's pay amounting to 310 rubles.

For the gross violations of state discipline and disorder in production, strict reprimands were issued to the General Director of the Alamedin Fur Production Union, comrade A. O. Omuraliev and to the director of the wool-fur factory of the Alamedin MPO [not further expanded], comrade R. R. Sayfullin.

In partial compensation for the material losses, caused to the state, the latter was given a fine of one month's pay amounting to 185 rubles.

It was taken into consideration that the People's Control Committees of the Osh Oblast, Talas Oblast and the city have called the leaders of oblast directorates and a number of enterprises of the Ministry of Local Industry to account. The Naryn city People's Control Committee has been entrusted to consider the question of responsibility for the low quality of the products produced, the non-fulfillment of the agreed upon obligations of the officials of the Naryn Wool Factory.

13376

CSO: 1830/571

TAJIK VETERANS RECOUNT 'DUSHMAN' ATROCITIES

Dushanbe AGITATOR TADZHIKISTANA in Russian No 7, Apr 87 pp 22-24

[Article by D. Grigoryev, free-lance correspondent of AGITATOR TADZHIKISTANA, under the rubric "Soviet Patriotism": "The Truth About Dushman"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The Palace of Culture of the kolkhoz "Rossiya" in the Leninskiy Rayon had not seen such a number of people as on that night for a long time. The 500-seat hall was full. Everyone came, young and old, to the meeting with former soldiers who had performed their international duty as part of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Fellow villagers came to look at their own hero-countrymen. On people who just like themselves were farmers, cotton growers and machine operators--Fato Khasanov, Tursun Sirodzhiddinov, Rakhmatullo Akhmadaliyev, Radzhab Odinayev and Alkhamiddin Tursunov. . . They came to hear firsthand the truth about the dushman, so that together they would all voice an angry protest against their heinous crimes. The village workers came to hold those up to shame who still hope to turn back the gains of the April revolution even now, when the armistice has begun.

And the former soldier-internationalists related their stories. They told the truth about the dushman. Even though these events are 2-3 years old, they are still terrifying in their cruelty.

. . . The bandits attacked the kishlak Bagram in the deep of the night. After slaughtering the small self-defense detachment, they began to search each home. They searched for parents, wives and the children of those who sided with the national authorities. There was no limit to the cruelty. In one of the homes, the dushman shot a 7-year old girl point-blank.

After coming home, a minister of religion from the kishlak Bakharak in Badakhshanskaya Province, found his wife and son killed. With words of damnation, he rushed to seek out those who did this. And he found them. . . The dushman beat him up savagely. This is the way they made short work of the family. They took vengeance only because the minister of religion refused to help the bandits in their dirty work.

. . . Alongside pretty dolls and toy elephants and automobiles there lay several bloodied bodies of Afghan children. The dushman, after mining a box with children's toys, tossed it into a schoolyard.

That is the terrible truth about the dushman. . .

The truth was heard from the mouths of eye witnesses--20-to-22-year old lads from Tadzhikistan, who not very long ago knew about such a war only from books and movies. And then they encountered this cruel truth face-to-face. . .

The people in the hall did not quiet down that night for a long time. And it is not surprising: it is not really possible to listen to such things with indifference. The old men, women and children listened with bated breath to those who were in the hottest spots in Afghanistan, to those who looked death in the eyes more than once.

And there was no end to the questions; they poured out one after the other.

"And was it terrible, boys, in the first battle?"

"Tell us how people live in villages liberated from the dushman?"

"Is there cotton there? . ."

Literally everything interested the participants at the meeting, but most of all, of course, the heroism of the self-defense soldiers and the Soviet soldier-internationalists. The former servicemen related one episode, which they heard about there, in Afghanistan, that revealed the courage of the Soviet boys and the Afghan self-defense detachments.

. . . The dushman blockaded several settlements in the small Uruzgan valley. The enemy knew: provisions for the population were running out. Another day or two and the people would need bread urgently. And so the bandits decided to exploit this fact.

The provincial authorities found out about this misfortune. It was decided to deliver bread to the hungry by truck. The Afghan comrades asked our soldiers to help their subunits secure the movement of the column. And the route was not easy--almost 300 km of mountain roads. . .

The platoon of Sr Lt Aleksandr Chernozhukov together with an Afghan subunit was at the head of the column. The commander stopped the trucks at the next pass.

"Something is not right here," he said, lowering his binoculars. "It is apparent that there is a kishlak, but no one can be seen in it."

He sent some servicemen out on reconnaissance. And there and then shots rang out from slopes that surrounded the kishlak. Together with the Afghan soldiers, Chernozhukov's platoon rushed into the uninhabited kishlak at top speed--right under the bullets. The soldiers' task was simple--to draw fire and to give the column an opportunity to slip through the dangerous area. And

although the position of the bandits was much more favorable, the subunit of defenders nonetheless was able to block the approaches to the column.

The column moved relatively peacefully along the remaining 30 km of mountain roads. But at the next pass at Murchay, machine guns chattered once again. In order to pin the dushman down, it was necessary to climb the left slope, a little higher than where the enemy was positioned. And Chernozhukov's platoon together with the soldiers of the Afghan subunit climbed up the sharp slope of the mountain. Frankly speaking, not everyone has the strength to climb these steep slopes even in a peaceful situation. And here there was firing, and what is more, point blank firing.

There was only one solution--move in short dashes. For fractions of a second. A meter from danger--from rock to rock. Forward. Upward. Again forward. . .

The bandits became confused and began to retreat. The road was clear for the truck column. . .

And after the pass there was the kishlak Derkhavut. All of the people, young and old, came out to greet the column bringing the bread. . .

Then the meeting in the kolkhoz's palace of culture dragged on into the night. One episode followed another. One narrator supplemented another. And then the older villagers, veterans of the war, the best people of the kolkhoz addressed the people in the hall. And as one, they expressed words of anger against those who lead the dushman, and they censured the policy of the U.S. directed at speeding up the arms race and the undeclared war of international imperialism against Afghanistan.

. . . The meeting ended. But the fellow-countrymen were hardly able to speak about everything at the meeting. Of course not. There was still a lot that one wanted to ask and a lot that one wanted to hear from the boys. I was especially eager to talk to Tursun Sirodzhiddinov who, fulfilling his international duty, was wounded in one of the battles.

But the boys were too agitated after their meeting with their fellow-countrymen. Their impressions of what they saw and lived through there on Afghan land were too fresh. That is why I decided to wait a little with this writing, and to get back to it after some time had passed, and to talk to Tursun Sirodzhiddinov without fail. Moreover, I wanted to get better acquainted with this quiet fellow who had experienced so much adversity in his short life. I was interested in this representative of today's youth who, as they told me, while still working in a kolkhoz before being called up into the army, displayed an enviable diligence.

And so recently my cherished meeting took place. We are sitting in the office of A. Abduhabiyev, the secretary of the party committee of the kolkhoz "Rossiya," and Tursun is talking about himself, his service comrades and about the team on which he now works.

Tursun is young and has the bearing of a soldier. Lively and almost shining eyes look confidently and kindly at the person he is talking to. And it would



seem that nothing in him gives away the fact that he was a recent participant in those unforgettable events in Afghanistan. Well, maybe only the hands. . . They are large and calloused. The hands of a peaceful farmer.

Tursun Sirodzhiddinov was born and grew up in this kolkhoz, and he joined the Komsomol. He graduated from secondary school here. He did not enroll in the institute; the parents were up in years, the family was large and it needed his help. After working about a year in the city, Tursun got homesick for his own kolkhoz; he returned and began to work on the cotton-growing team.

"It is true that it turned out that I did not take part in the very first harvest anyway," Tursun related, "the time came when I was called into the army. After several months of service on the territory of our country, I was assigned to the limited contingent of Soviet forces in Afghanistan. And I then continued my service near Kabul and later not far from Pandjsher.

"It goes without saying," continues Tursun, "service in the army is a difficult matter--strict discipline, constant readiness against surprise and cultivating courage and will in oneself. But the realization that you are fulfilling an international duty and that somebody's life depends on your skill, resourcefulness and simply on your fearlessness helps overcome these difficulties. I will give you an example.

There were two times when, together with Afghan self-defense soldiers, we had to liberate the kishlak Chirikar from the dushman. Twice, we drove the enemy from these positions. But when our subunits had to return to our stationing area, the dushman again occupied the kishlak, which they viewed not only as a picturesque place in the Pandjsher gorge, but also as a very important strategic point for the bandits. The enemy tried to capture the kishlak for the third time. We, of course, did not give in then either. . .

I am acquainted with many of the young men who served in Afghanistan, and I spoke to many of them on this subject, but still I did not meet up with a young man who would complain about the difficulties or who would avoid danger.

Kolkhoz "Rossiya". . .

Is the proud and unfading name that this kolkhoz bears.

Rich in history and good deeds, it is known throughout the republic. In the 50 years of its existence, the kolkhoz went from a small kishlak with 15 homesteads to a multi-branch operation and land that spreads over more than 1,500 hectares.

But this kolkhoz is known not only for its good deeds, it also is famous for its strong traditions. When the country was in danger in 1941, hundreds of village workers left this kolkhoz to defend it.

Glorious youths live and work here. When the circumstances required it, they did not shame the proud name of the Soviet person, soldier and defender. They fulfilled their international duty in an outstanding way and honorably.

13052

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TRADITIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST APPROACH TO HISTORY REAFFIRMED

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 9 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by V. Yurchuk, director of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee's Party History Institute--a branch of the CPSU Central Committee's Marxism-Leninism Institute--and corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, under the rubric "Urgent Social Science Problems": "On Historical Method and Truthfulness"; first paragraph is source introduction, printed in boldface]

After the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress, our public outlook became broader. We have an opportunity to evaluate and interpret the past more completely and more accurately. The increased interest of many PRAVDA UKRAINY readers in the elaboration of new historical thinking, in the search for new approaches in the analysis of historical events and processes and in the essence of historical method and truthfulness in the illumination of the path traversed by the party and the people is reflected in the letters received by the newspaper. Quite emotional discussions are raging around a number of such problems in the pages of newspapers and magazines and at various types of gatherings and seminars. Their social significance is reinforced in connection with the approaching 70th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The active use of the abundant experience in the building of socialism is one of the powerful factors in the restructuring and acceleration of the country's social and economic development. The lessons of history are one of the reliable guarantees against the repetition of previous errors and of the irreversibility of the profound process of the transformations.

The reorganizational work unleashed in the nation with all keenness impels the elimination of stereotypes in the illumination of the historical past. This assumes not only the exposure and filling-in of the "blank spots," the rejection of half-truths, the discussion of the previously ignored "painful" questions and the most urgent problems of our recent and more distant "yesterdays," but also the affirmation of clearly defined methodological and strictly balanced evaluations--especially of the pivotal and turning-point stages of our socialist history--in the spirit of the Leninist principles of the party spirit and historical method and from positions of truth.

In this connection, naturally, a question arises about what makes up the concepts of historical method and truthfulness and how they are related to one another.

From the point of view of Marxist-Leninist teaching, the consistent application of the principle of the historical method is a necessary condition for the scientific analysis of the social processes of the past and the present. Here the first thing is the objective and truthful study and illumination of history as a single process, regular in all its enormous versatility and contradictoriness (1). Until recently, this methodological requirement was not being observed in many instances.

Under the conditions of the lessons of truth, openness, and the development of criticism and self-criticism, the requirement for an objective and truthful illumination of history, incompatible with conjunctural stratifications, becomes ever more important. In this connection, we would like to recall once again the words of M. S. Gorbachev who spoke at a meeting with the leaders of the mass information media about the fact that "history must be seen for what it really is."

In connection with this, we will recall certain key statements which, in our opinion, must be taken into consideration in order to have a strictly objective and truthful illumination of Soviet history.

First. History itself has bestowed on our party and people the most responsible and honorable role of the vanguard of revolutionary socialism and the trail-blazer of the new order. On this previously unknown and unbeaten path, everything was new and had not been tested anywhere by anyone.

Second. The initial-passage and innovatory mission is also an unprecedented burden and the greatest of responsibilities. Incredibly complex and even brutal were the objective conditions under which our people first had to build a socialist society. As the poet, V. Poltoratskiy, wrote, "we were burned by fire and racked by storms. We plowed virgin soil and anything was possible on this difficult and unknown path." Our homeland was like a besieged fortress for nearly 3 decades, until the formation of the world system of socialism.

Third. For 7 decades (of which nearly 20 years were spent in armed repelling of imperialist aggression and restoration of what had been destroyed), the land of the soviets traversed a path the equivalent of centuries, having outstripped the capitalist world for the entire era in social, political and intellectual matters; it had accomplished an unprecedented rise from the wooden plow and the splinter to outer space, having experienced the incomparable joy of great, epoch-making and heroic accomplishments.

In the CPSU Central Committee's Address to the Soviet People, it is stated, "But there was something else also. A high price had to be paid for the deviation from Leninist principles and methods for the building of the new society, for the violation of socialist law and the democratic standards of life in the party and society, for the voluntaristic errors, and for the dogmatism in thinking and the inertia in practical actions."

The immutable socialist law of truth requires not only a more profound and vivid examination of the glorious and heroic pages of our history, but also an honest and truthful analysis of the bitter lessons, delusions and errors. Especially since the logic of social development is on the side of the historically rising new order and the Marxist-Leninist view of the world. V. I. Lenin wrote, "...History itself supports our views, as does reality at every step."

Take, for example, the illumination of the transition period from capitalism to socialism (from October, 1917 to the end of the thirties). At each of the stages of this period, a large number of works were written and, nevertheless, there are still a lot of inadequately investigated questions here. In addition, in their preparation to one degree or another is a reflection of stereotyped and dogmatic ideas about the essence and development of the historical past and of a facilitated analysis of the complex and unidentical phenomena of social life, when the contradictory processes, including by us historians, were depicted frequently in the form of only a victorious and completely triumphal procession, frequently depersonalized.

The path to an in-depth, comprehensive and scientifically truthful investigation and illumination of the most complex phenomena and events of the past is in the creative study of the Leninist theoretical heritage, in the Leninist laboratory of scientific analysis and in the raising of the level of the methodological standards. It is in the adoption of the criteria and requirements dictated by the current restructuring and in the additional and more thorough study of archive documents.

But, as the readers have correctly noted, the recently intensified interest in the dialectics of history and in previously unilluminated or inadequately illuminated (including dramatic) pages, sometimes is accompanied by one-sided and superficial evaluations and in a number of instances by far-fetched justification and unhealthy sensationalism.

Thus, in the reflections of academican V. A. Tikhonov of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin, featured in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on 8 April, 1987, doubt was cast on the lawfulness of the policy carried out at the end of 1929 and the beginning of 1930 to eliminate the kulaks as a class based on complete collectivization. In this most difficult and complex matter, which affected hundreds of thousands of peasant farms, there were, as is well-known, costs and blunders (in a number of instances, the Leninist positions on the attitude towards the middle peasant were buried in oblivion and there was pressure from above and the pursuit of a percentage). But we are talking about something else--about the denial of the necessity of the policy of elimination of the kulaks as a class, which was carried out at the beginning of the thirties. Meanwhile, this far-fetched assertion by the author has no basis in fact. And the facts prove otherwise.

The elimination of the kulaks as a class in our country was caused by objective needs. First and foremost, this necessity arose from the main principles of scientific communism--the replacement of private ownership of

the means of production by public ownership and the abolition of the exploiter classes and of the exploitation of one man by another.

The kulaks were the last exploiter class in our country. The inevitability of a real civil war with them under the specific historical conditions of our country was foreseen by V. I. Lenin. For years, the kulaks fiercely opposed the new order, using every kind of means--from provocations and arson to brutal attacks on communists and rural activists. In the Ukraine, for example, in the first half of 1930, the kulaks undertook more than 1,500 terrorist acts. The international imperialist bourgeoisie were even counting on the kulaks in their own insidious plans for the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. These and other circumstances have to be taken into account. Otherwise, controversial (excesses) and incorrect judgements are inevitable.

There are inadequately studied questions even in the history of the Great Patriotic War. Up till now, incomplete are investigations of such ones as the establishment and the activities of the illegal Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine, which, in conformity with the decision of the CPSU (Bolsheviks) Central Committee Politburo, headed up the national struggle on the temporarily occupied Ukrainian territory against the Fascist German aggressors; and the activities of the Ukrainian headquarters of the partisan movement as a strategic military organ of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine Central Committee. There is a need for an in-depth study of the problem of the international unity of the workers in the national struggle against the Fascist invaders in the Ukraine. Up to the present time, there are still no works dedicated to the heroic struggle of the workers against the bourgeois and nationalist band in the Ukraine's western oblasts.

One of the most critical and most complicated questions on the re-interpretation of the historical past from the positions of the lessons of truth is the objective illumination of the role of personalities and the education of the present generation, particularly the young people, in the example of those who laid down their lives for the revolution, socialism and its defense. At the same time, it is important not to disregard the dramatization of events and human fates.

A cardinal improvement is required, first and foremost, by the illumination of V. I. Lenin's revolutionary exploit, interest in which under the circumstance of the restructuring has increased as never before. In the entire greatness of the revolutionary spirit, we have to reveal in front of contemporaries such party figures as Ya. M. Sverdlov and M. I. Kalinin, F. E. Dzerzhinskiy and M. V. Frunze, G. K. Ordzhonikidze and S. M. Kirov, L. B. Krasin and G. V. Chicherin, A. V. Lunacharskiy and G. I. Petrovskiy, S. M. Kosnor and V. Ya. Chubar and many others. The time has come to recount truthfully, vividly and interestingly about the many party, soviet, economic, trade union and komsomol workers of the republic, oblast, city and rayon chain, of the managers of the largest enterprises and the first kolkhozes and sovkhozes, of the leaders and innovators of industry, and of the courageous defenders of the homeland with their virtues and their shortcomings and with their unswerving loyalty to communist ideals.



Increased interest has been generated by those events of the past associated with Stalin's personality cult. There is no doubt that the theme of the personality cult requires serious investigation. Here a sober and thoroughly balanced approach and adherence to the principle of historical method are necessary. On the one hand, it would be unscientific to judge the thirties by the laws of modern-day life, deflecting one's attention from the acuteness of the class struggle of the transition period and the special features of the building of socialism in one country. On the other hand, it would be incorrect to justify all the errors, extremes and violations of the law by the "severity of the times."

Meanwhile, in the illumination of this complex question, false judgements and, at times, distortions are encountered. Professor Yu. Afanasyev (2) even declared the thirties to be the "Stalinist Era," which contradicts the scientific ideas about the essence of the revolutionary transformations in our country, which are reflected in the program documents of the CPSU and have been realized in practice.

The lessons of truth and openness call for the overcoming the practice of silence even with respect to those who did not pass the test of time and obstructed the carrying out of the party line. Having overcome the cleverest, cunning and refined political opponents, V. I. and the bolsheviks raised even higher the banner of revolutionary transformations.

In connection with this, opinions are being expressed about a review of the party decisions adopted at the time and about a re-evaluation of the individual events and political figures and leaders of the communists' political opponents and of certain writers and scholars, in particular, V. Vinnichenko, M. Grushevskiy and N. Khvylevyy. Proposals are being made about re-issuing their works. We are not excluding a more in-depth investigation of the complexities and contradictions and the vital collisions of the named persons. But there are no bases for a review of the party documents adopted at the time and of the political evaluations of their activities and creativity as it seems to us. As far as the individual best artistic works go, for example, of V. Vinnichenko, especially those which truthfully reflected the democratic strivings and the life and struggle of the Ukrainian village at the beginning of the century, they, of course, deserve publication.

The requirements of the restructuring of the science of party history and the demands of the study of the most important problems, processes and rules of the development of Soviet society and the history of the party persistently call for the uniting of the efforts of the social scientists and for the preparation of works of both a fundamental and a popular science nature.

Work is being carried out in this direction on the preparation of a new fundamental work, "Ocherki istorii Kommunisticheskoy partii Ukrainy" [Essays on the History of the Ukrainian Communist Party] (in three volumes). Their authors are undertaking an attempt to illuminate objectively and comprehensively many phenomena and events of the historical past and to expose and fill in the "blank spots." Other party history works are also being prepared. In particular, work is proceeding on the preparation of essays on the history of the oblast komsomol organizations. The first book of this

series on the history of the Kiev city and oblast komsomol organizations has already come out.

On the eve of the 70th Anniversary of October, the Ukrainian-language edition of the Works of K. Marx and F. Engels in 50 volumes has been completed. Now work is proceeding on a Ukrainian-language edition of "Izbrannyye sochineniya" [Selected Works] of K. Marks, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin. The first volumes have already come out. An in-depth study is going on of the theme: "V. I. Lenin and the Ukrainian Communist Party." The preparation of the encyclopedic reference work "Velikiy Oktyabr i grazhdanskaya voyna na Ukraine" [The Great October and the Civil War in the Ukraine] became a serious summation of many years of work on the study of the history of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Already published or being published are other works which expose the problems of the Great October and the prominent role of V. I. Lenin in the historical fates of the Ukrainian people and in the summation of the historical experience of the party in the international unity of the workers.

The approaching 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is being perceived by the Soviet people not only as their own biggest holiday, a holiday of the peoples of the socialist countries and of all the planet's progressive people, but also as an urgent review of socialism's achievements and as an important factor for the further raising of the level of labor, political and intellectual activism in the struggle to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. It is that point of reading, that historical boundary, from whose height the results and lessons of the traversed path, which are occurring in a world change, are being interpreted.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy..." [The Complete Collected Works], Vol 26, p 58.

2. SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 21 March, 1987.

12752

CSO: 1800/732

NATIONALISTS USE GLASNOST TO DISTORT HISTORY

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 17 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by N. Stashkevich, candidate of historical sciences, under the rubric "Related Notes": "People from the Past"]

[Text] At times, people carefully glance back into the past. A person remembers the events of long-gone days, ones of which he is proud and others which he will tell no one about. A society also remembers its own history. Again and again, we interpret the significant events and we remember those people whose achievements fill our consciousness with national pride and nourish patriotic feelings. But in the history of each group of people, there are pages which cause regret and there are people whose misdeeds were committed in defiance of the fatherland's interests. "That very same time, when they were committed," G. R. Derzhavin said in former times, "were better forgotten. But, since the glorious adventures are described to encourage imitation and the shameful ones to encourage avoidance of them, then it is necessary that everything that has happened should be given a place in history."

Yes, it is necessary. This place, however, does not always correspond to historical truth. And not only because the past is more difficult to discern than the present. An event sometimes is also in the subjective power of a person, who is making an excursion into history. While he carefully conceals the dark pages of his own life, he bravely flaunts others bygone deeds, without burdening himself with the accuracy of the evaluations. And then, because of his unscrupulousness, thoughtlessness and ignorance, and even a conscious desire at times to distort the truth, we are presented with a false image of the past.

Here this non-acceptance of falsity and the striving for the truth are especially necessary now, when we are turning over the pages of history all over again and restoring forgotten names to society. Openness [glasnost] is indeed the truth and just the truth. Therefore, it would seem, not every person restored from oblivion need be embellished and placed on an undeserved pedestal. And all the same it happens, when one who soiled our history is exposed to general review as some kind of ideal.



This is already being talked about. For example, at a plenum of the board of the USSR Union of Writers, Ukrainian writer Boris Oleynik noted that certain people are attempting to attribute the creativity of Z. Gippius to the values of the land of the soviets which was hostile to her to the end and, indeed, she "never concealed her own absolute non-acceptance of the October Revolution. And what is more, she did not change her own nature even in our homeland's darkest hour--the Fascist invasion " Something similar is being observed among us in Belorussia.

Bourgeois Belorussian nationalists, having found refuge in the Western countries under the wing of the CIA, are undertaking attempts to reanimate and praise to the skies such figures as V. Lastovskiy, R. Ostrovskiy, Ya. Lesik and F. Akinchits. But what would you expect from them, these nationalists? Traitors glorify traitors--war criminals and underlings of the Fascist invaders. It is worse when our citizens, who survived the horrors of the invasion, look for models among those traitors, who are represented as "fighters for national rights." In certain Belorussian publications and in the press, for example, the name of Anton Lutskevich is sometimes mentioned.

Since this is so, let us recall the entire truth about this person. He, together with his own brother Ivan, was a founder and member of the Central Committee of the petty bourgeois nationalistic party--the Belorussian Socialist Gromada [Mass]. Then he actively worked on the famous newspaper NASHA NIVA [Our Cornfield], where he advocated "class peace" in the Belorussian countryside. That is, he wanted the landowners to retain their own extensive estates and the rural poor to remain in poverty and accept the landowners' exploitation.

Of course, at the beginning of the current century, when the rise of the revolutionary movement occurred, different people took different positions and it is hardly just to reproach this figure today for his ideological vaccinations. But they were not accidental errors, rather, they were a deliberate position.

The fact is that after the first Russian revolution in Vilnius, freemasonry emerged, which set a goal of subordinating to itself the national liberation movement in the outlying districts of the empire and preventing the victory of the Socialist Revolution. A strong masonic group was formed in the Central Committee of the Russian Constitutional-Democratic Party. And so, on the recommendation of C-D party member G. Romm, in 1909, Anton and Ivan Lutskevich were initiated into freemasonry. And this means that they submitted to the iron discipline of the "free masons," which ruled out any kind of vaccinations. Later, A. Lutskevich characterized the activities of the lodge thus: "The organization united all those elements which were ready to take part in the struggle, beginning with the October revolutionaries and up to the most extreme leftists--without exception. A form of strictest conspiracy was adopted not only against the authorities, but also against society, so that party differences did not hinder the representatives of the various parties in coming together for the common work." Also drawn into the masonic order, according to A. Lutskevich, were other nationalist figures, for example, that same V. Lastovskiy or D. Sedmashko, who later joined the Kaunas "Lietuva" Lodge.

A. Lutskevich became his own person in both right-wing and so-called left wing circles of the Belorussian nationalist movement. That he was not an ordinary "free mason" is testified to by only one fact: in 1915, A. Lutskevich took part in the congress of the representatives of Russia's freemason lodges, convened on Kerinskiy's initiative. Of course, small fry were not sent there.

And, in fact, this "brother" made a career of being a strong nationalist figure. In 1916, he went to the congress of "the oppressed peoples of Russia" in Lausanne. Later he recalled that "the congress was a grand demonstration which had the goal of preparing European public opinion for the dismemberment of Russia." It was proposed that such dismemberment be implemented with the aid of the Kaiser's Germany. The pro-German orientation was developed further. A. Lutskevich, who had greeted the October Revolution with hostility, headed the puppet government of the Belorussian People's Republic (BPR) at the time of the German occupation. Since the Belorussian people did not support the BPR Rada [legislature], its short existence ended with the expulsion of the invaders in December of 1918.

All traitors easily change masters. And A. Lutskevich was no exception among them. He replaced servility to the German helmets with currying favor from J. Pilsudski, having suggested to him that he include Belorussia in the make-up of Poland. When bourgeois Poland later occupied our territory, he headed the "government" of the BPR, which was supported by new invaders. But its existence also turned out to be brief. Having lost his leadership post, in the twenties and thirties, A. Lutskevich was in Vilnius, where he collaborated with J. Pilsudski's regime and headed up various nationalist groups, conducting a struggle against Soviet Belorussia and the CPWB [Communist Party of Western Belorussia]. At that time, the masonic lodge "Tomash zan" was operating in Vilnius and in it the Polish and Belorussian intriguers continued their own counter-revolutionary activities.

As the saying goes, like father like son, and, therefore, the fates of Anton's sons--Yuriy and Leon--turned out similar. The father served the kaiser's men and these fellows served Hitler's. At the time of the Fascist German occupation, in Baranovichy, Yuriy joined the occupier-established "Belorussian Territorial Defense Force," where he served as a propaganda officer. He served well and therefore the Fascists sent him to the Abwehr's intelligence school in East Prussia. They also sent Leon there. Regarding the spy-sabotage institution, he later recalled: "In the school we were taught battle tactics and demolitions, we went through military and drill training, studied all types of weapons systems and the Red Army Regulations, so that if we found ourselves on USSR territory, we would not betray ourselves by our behavior. In addition, lectures were given on the history of Belorussia by my brother... In the process of studying, by order of the German Command, all the school personnel took part in three round-ups of Soviet paratroopers, who had been dropped in the Dalvitskiy woods, and I personally participated in two of them. In the last one, 10 paratroopers were killed and 2 were captured."

To be sure, in 1944, the brothers fled together with the invaders and turned up in Poland. In Warsaw they founded a secret organization which planned anti-Soviet subversive activities in the territory of the Belorussian SSR.

Here, once again, a speech by Boris Oleynik must be remembered. At a writers' plenum he stated that classic writer of world literature Knut Hamsun was condemned by a Norwegian court for collaboration with the Nazis, even though at the time he was on the far side of 80. Hamsun's son, a patriot, had repudiated his traitor father. A. Lutskevich's son, as we see, continued the treason into the second generation.

Such is the political and moral make-up of this little family. It would seem that everything here is clear, but, evidently, not to everyone. At one time, the newspaper LITARATURA I MASTATSTVA alluded to the prestige of Leon Lutskevich and even called him a "scholar from Vilnius." Just where did he become a "scholar"--in that spy school? And was he doing practical work during the round-up of the paratroopers? Or, perhaps, he took over "science" from his mason father and shared it with those simpletons who called on him in Vilnius?

Here are really, in fact, black deeds and "when they happened, were better forgotten." However, they have to be recalled. Because there are unscrupulous people who, covering themselves with the principles of democracy and glasnost, degenerate to a complete lack of principle and pull out of historical oblivion those who did not glorify but rather, defamed our long-suffering and courageous people.

12752

CSO: 1800/732

## CONFERENCE ON PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE NOTES CHANGED ATTITUDES

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 20 August 1987 carries on page 2 a 400-word article by PRAVDA special correspondents V. Kerimov and V. Mudragey titled "The Humanism of Science" which reports on the continuing Seventh International Congress On the Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science being held in Moscow. The article notes that a wider scale of problems is being raised "which today concerns not only people of science." In particular, the authors point out the greater dependence of science on social and human factors, and quote Doctor of Philosophical Sciences B. Yudin on the ethical problems which arise. "Whereas antiscientific moods were previously characteristic of the West on the whole, after Chernobyl they also spread among us. And of course one must not turn away from the problem of scientific research direction, experiment ethics, and the social consequences of using the achievements of science and technology in practice. They must be discussed widely and democratically with the goal of harmonizing the development of science and man. But this is not a goal in itself. The main thing is man and what science and technology give to him."

CSO: 1830/646

## BETTER ATHEIST THEMES, APPROACHES IN LITERATURE, CULTURE URGED

Moscow NOVYY MIR in Russian No 4, Apr 87 pp 245-259 (signed to press 4 Mar 87)

[Article by Andrey Nuykin under the rubric "Literary Criticism": "New Seeking After God and Old Dogmas"]

[Excerpts] 1. "... I am boiling like a teapot... "

The fundamental spheres of daily life change unhurriedly even in a period of rapid restructuring. The wage for the overwhelming majority is the same, not so very much has been added on counters, and it is still best not to argue with the immediate bosses, as in former times... But where does the internal sense of a swift leap forward which does not have the power to dispel the monologues full of irony of the skeptics made wiser by life come from? Is it perhaps because there are other areas which are less dependent on capital expenditures--areas of spiritual life, social thought, and moral and intellectual searching? And there one only has to open the floodgates and...

It is startling how quickly we become accustomed to speaking loudly about what we formerly only thought about cautiously! Plays and stories which even yesterday froze the audience and readers with the boldness of their authors and the acuteness of the formulation of political problems have now almost ceased to affect us: the newspapers write about it even more boldly and deeply! The timeliness of such "pioneering" works in conditions of "acceleration" has begun to disappear much too quickly.

It will soon be a year since the novel by Chingiz Aytmatov "Plakha" [The Executioner's Block] appeared, a work which is perhaps not the most artistic of the works written by this author; but the fierce arguments which erupted with the appearance of only the first part have not faded completely away. And the arguments are by no means on the poetic style of the novel; no, the arguments are social and ones posing problems. And the secret is probably not in the fact that the writer encroached upon spheres of life which were formerly taboo and brought before the public problems of religion and youth drug addiction. Better said, not only in that, and not simply in that.

A free discussion of the most acute and painful questions is very important business. Praise everyone who contributes their part to it, and especially such an important part. But I think we must look for the main cause of the



duration and acuteness of the arguments surrounding "The Executioner's Block" above all in the particular qualities of some of the problems touched upon. Did you notice? The reviews and articles devoted to the novel talk about drug addiction, not with fervor but as if "in passing." It is good that people have begun to talk openly about this trouble. And in the future let us talk about and discuss its social aspects as well (there are thousands of difficult nuances and specific themes here), and its medical and psychological aspects. We will be pleased with any success in this pursuit. Period.

Questions involving religion are a different thing. An altogether different thing. We still cannot yet speak even with relative unanimity regarding their interpretation. And there are by no means two opposing camps here, not just believers and atheists as the most irreconcilable representatives of these types of mindframes which are not at all monolithic either. By learning to live in conditions of democracy, we must learn to argue about questions of religion too. And to think. Each person has to. Without turning over this pleasant and vitally important duty to specially ordained priests of religion or atheism.

The responses to Aytmatov's novel and to the fierce debates of professionals which it aroused clearly attest to this. This is what is said, for example, in a letter from Yekaterina Klopova, a young teacher from the settlement of Gorbachevo in Tula Oblast:

"At first I.A. Kryvelev's article in that same KOMSOMOLKA (several months ago) made me angry. I do not want to say anything bad about his knowledge, merits, and competence--I have his 'Kriticheskiy analiz Biblii' [Critical Analysis of the Bible] and 'Istoriya religii' [History of Religion], but it seems to me that if you undertake to criticize someone, be worthy of it and be equal to it! Kryvelev criticizes the most prominent writers of the present--Aytmatov, Bykov, Astafyev--but with what language, Lord! Crude, awkward, heavy-handed, boring language."

"S. Kaltakhchyan said almost the same thing but in perhaps a slightly more understandable way. But it is literally obvious to all, to everyone how these scientific explanations lose when compared to Yevtushenko's eye-catching, emotional, precise, and understandable article. But he is reproached for these emotions! For even a goat understands, excuse the expression, that although religion affects the emotions and science--logic, no one obliges it, science, to be boring!

"This article by Kaltakhchyan left an unpleasant taste of unnecessary clutching at words, for Yevtushenko did not cite scientific definitions but gave his own views on things. What I see behind this desire to sting and clutch is simply powerlessness behind a powerful collection of quotations... He did not convince me, no. Not a bit.

"There is one other thing I want to say. Yevtushenko and other writers strike me in that they defend a person's right to see the world in the way the author presents it--as a whole with the doubts, thoughts, confusion, and searching of the heroes. But their opponents kill this integrity with their inclination to analyze and divide into convenient slots. Dogma, all dogma and stereotypes--

as if literature is not a way to rouse minds and souls. And learned atheists glare menacingly at this. Do not dare doubt it! Do not dare think! Do not dare ponder religion!... It is boring, girls... "

There is something to talk about seriously here, something to figure out! Newspaper articles by the philosophers I. Kryvelev and S. Kaltakhchyan are not ordinary polemics about particular cases of the appearance of religious motifs with some of our authors. These are two "alarm signals" of ideological trouble on the literary front and of suspicious inclinations revealed of a whole number of writers, and not just any ones but the leading and most prestigious ones! That is even more disturbing and unacceptable since their talent and popularity may confuse many readers, above all young ones with their insecure worldview and inexperience in religious problems.

I. Kryvelev, in particular, suspects V. Bykov, Ch. Aytmatov, and V. Astafyev of "abandoning principled, consistent atheism," "flirting with God," and spreading "open or barely disguised" propaganda on the thesis that "there is no morality without belief in God," that is, "putting morality at the disposal of religion." And V. Astafyev is accused of calling the "last punishing rain" down on atheists, which should destroy them. All this causes, as I. Kryvelev writes, "confusion at the very least." What it causes at most one may also imagine.

The poet Ye. Yevtushenko attempted to stand up for his colleagues in the literary guild and this caused S. Kaltakhchyan, I. Kryvelev's colleague in the atheist guild, to be "surprised" rather than "confused." And he seems to be surprised not on his own behalf but on the behalf of Marxism and of the CPSU: "It is not without reason that the party orients us to improving atheist indoctrination, especially among youth, and to searching for new approaches and new ways and forms of atheist propaganda. Attempts to impede progress in this direction are surprising."

The science of philosophy, which I. Kryvelev and S. Kaltakhchyan represent in this controversy, asserts that life develops in spirals. At the very least M. Bulgakov in the novel "Master i Margarita" [The Master and Margarita] (completed in 1939) echoed a surprisingly similar situation. The major writer attempted to create a novel about Pilate and Christ but the vigilant critic Latunskiy and another critic who wrote under the initials N.E. exposed these antiscientific attempts to "push into print an apology of Jesus Christ." I remember one very nice woman was also "boiling inside like a teapot" and as a result the critic Latunskiy suffered serious material harm. And now 50 years later it is being repeated. Again there is a master and there is a novel where Christ and Pilate appear and there are menacing newspaper exposes in the spirit of Latunskiy, there are... By the way, I hope the comparison will stop here--the turns of the spiral are still not a vicious circle.

Do our learned atheists have reason for ideological alarm? They do, and a great deal of reason. The grounds are worldwide, one might say.

## 2. "What Is Happening to Us, Comrades?... "

Religious consciousness in capitalist and developing countries is now undergoing a stage which specialists are having a difficult time evaluating clearly: what does it represent--a boom and renaissance or a slump and breakdown? And such disparity is characteristic of even different regions (here one can find such diversity in situations that no classification system can reveal uniform change over time), and one can find features of both a boom and a slump in one and the same country.

In developed capitalist countries traditional religious belief is on the whole clearly declining, eroded away if not by atheism then by religious indifference. Even those people who in questionnaires admit they are believers do not so much associate with God as observe the proprieties.

It is too early to relegate even traditional religions to the ranks of powerless rudiments of social life. But the influence of the old religions, which is nonetheless failing to hold on (this is especially characteristic of the developing countries), is of a specific nature for the present situation in the developed countries. The surge in nontraditional religions and mysticism distinguishes those countries.

In the book "Collision with the Future," the American scientist Alvin Toffler asserts that "we are seeing a rapid revival of mysticism. Suddenly general fascination with astrology has begun. Zen Buddhism, yoga, spirit seances, and witchcraft have come into fashion. Cults are being created around the quest for Dionysian joys and methods of nonlinguistic and even nonspatial communication."

Several years ago West German radio reported that about 10,000 exorcists and witches were "working" in the country. In Paris every year 100,000 people make a visit to the 6,000 fakirs and clairvoyants. A trade union of clairvoyants has been founded in Rome. The annual income of the Hari Krishna sect which practices "begging" in a number of European cities amounts to 10 million marks.

As a survey done in 1982 by the American J. Gallup Institute showed, 44 percent of U.S. residents are convinced that man was created approximately 10,000 years ago by God. One fourth of this 44 percent are people with higher education! Only 9 percent of those polled agreed with the assertion: "Man developed from lower forms of life over millions of years. God had nothing to do with it."

Thirty years ago in the FRG 8 percent of the residents "did not rule out" the existence of witches, in 1973 11 percent of the Germans answered affirmatively to the same question, and in 1986 34 percent of those surveyed admitted that they believed in magic and witchcraft. And 66 percent believed in clairvoyants and another 17 percent did not rule out such an ability to see into the future...

In the early 1970's a study revealed that 67 percent of British youth believed in God. And not just in God. In 1894 only 1 out of 10 Englishmen believed in ghosts. But in 1980 one out of three believed in their existence!

It has by no means happened that religion and fanaticism faded away directly proportional to the rise in literacy and the amount of scientific knowledge accumulated. Moreover, in bourgeois culture a quite paradoxical tendency is observed toward scientification of mysticism, on the one hand, and to mystification of science, on the other.

Has this "cup" passed us by? Alas, statistics which characterize the rise in atheism in our country, frankly speaking, do not arouse special confidence. For example, what use are the figures which appear in the collection "Molodezh, religiya, ateizm" [Youth, Religion, and Atheism] ("Molodaya gvardiya," 1984): "99 percent of the population of prerevolutionary Russia... was under the influence of religious institutions," but now "among youth up to 20 years of age 97-98 percent are atheists." Approximately a million babies are baptized in the country a year, as one of the lectures said. Possibly these babies may in some way be categorized as "religious indifferents" but not recognized as atheists... But what about the papas and mamas of the baptized babies? Are the papas and mamas not of a Christian frame of mind? After all, it was not the 2 percent of those who fell from the bosom of atheism in Uzbekistan who made this kind of a formulation necessary: "In recent years a complex religious situation has been created in the republic... Atheist work which opposes the religious influence, especially of Islam, is being carried out in an unsatisfactory way" (V. Artemenko, "See the Target When Attacking," PRAVDA, 7 October 1986). And the newfangled religious-mystical trends, which are carefully ignored by our old-fashioned statistics, are perhaps capable of lowering the percentage of atheists even further--both young people and the not-so-young.

With shame and horror we read in the same LITERATURNAYA GAZETA how seemingly fully enlightened people (candidates of historical sciences, editors of journals, poets, actors, corresponding members, and the like) worshipped two ignorant rogues covered with beads and little bells (Mirza Kymbatbayev and Abay Borubayev) and how this contact with heralds of other worlds ended with the savage collective murder of one of their most credulous pupils. If only these were isolated cases!

Is art making its contribution to the process of rejuvenating religion and mysticism? It is making a very important contribution.

I think all kinds of noncanonical religious-mystical intrusions into popular art, which has become for many (including youth) the daily and almost exclusive spiritual food, are even more harmful. Despite the fact that the authors seem to take these "intrusions" not too seriously and at times even with condescending irony.

I think the conclusions drawn by the German sociologist, literary critic, and film theoretician Sigfried Krakauer, who fled from the Nazi terror and in emigration wrote "A Psychological History of German Film," should not be passed over so thoughtlessly. In it the author examines the question of why



it was precisely the Weimar Republic which became the main supplier of horror films. And he answers: because sick art is produced by a sick society. However, the point is that art is not only a mirror and not only an eyewitness but it is a generator of and participant in events!

The general spiritual atmosphere of life must be a fixed object of our attention all the more so because traditional demonology has been fused with and related to the latest demonology of the space age for a long time now. Their symbiosis is all the more dangerous because this new demonology is no longer so openly fantastic and now looks extremely "scientific."

Take the notorious "four-dimensional space."

But many mathematicians now do not at all doubt the existence of not only four-dimensional space but whatever-dimensional space, since theorems and formulas of multidimensional geometry are already in practical use. This type of reality of multidimensional space today, even with maximal assumptions, is very dubious. But the danger of it being exploited by pseudoscience and pseudophilosophy has already become extremely real.

There are quite a few major reasons for the development of the supercredulity and intellectual omnivorousness of the contemporary (completely literate and even educated but philosophically inexperienced) average man.

"Quantum dynamics is now much more fantastic than any of the visions of the religious prophets," E. Yanch's book says. Even philosophers and physicists themselves are now beginning to believe only in "crazy ideas" when the talk turns to the upper limits of knowledge, that is, in ideas which even they do not understand. Can we demand understanding in these spheres from an ordinary educated person? The treatment of science fiction as a branch of scientific-popular literature rather than belles-lettres is to a great degree fostering the rise in credulity (and one can cite as many examples as desired). This harms both science (at times we observe a witches' sabbath of irresponsibility in the pursuit of "crazy" ideas) and fiction, which dons unnecessary fetters of proven knowledge without developing as a full-fledged genre of art.

So there is more than enough reason for each person who supports the development of materialist philosophy and the atheistic worldview to be concerned and even alarmed, but...

### 3. "He forms you up into three ranks... "

But why have the esteemed doctors of philosophical sciences chosen our major artists who have proven to everyone the endurance and seriousness of each of their works through serious creative work, rather than those who make money on speculating on all demons and those who are turning philosophy into kitsch.

Reread V. Bykov's books. Is there even one among them where the author obviously or secretly tries to prove that "there is no morality without belief in God"? After all, that does not at all follow from just the fact that some of his heroes believe in God. But what does I. Kryvelev see the criminal in? In this: "Of course, the writer admits there are dark sides to



religion which have given reason to consider it the opium of the people, but its content, as he believes, is not reduced to that (it would be interesting to find out who disagrees with that--author), since 'it has also preached common human values which are important to all times and peoples,' but when in our country 'the struggle against religion had been launched, certain zealous heads began to sweep everything away.'" Kryvelev goes on to a direct conclusion about the "inexpressible loathsomeness" of any "flirting with God."

So try to understand what the "sabotage" is and where the "flirting" is here. Are we perhaps again being called upon to "sweep everything away"? Or does loyalty to Marxism consist of denying even the attempts by believers to preach morals (which in any variant cannot fail to contain "common human values"!)? And is all this philosophy, is it Marxism?

Then relying on I. Kryvelev's methodology do we not suspect all the thinkers listed of "flirting with God"?

The ideological "hunt" based on fishing out certain phrases which yield to the wrong interpretation when taken out of the context of the writer's life and creative work is perhaps an adventurous business, but it is risky. The first thing you know, you may fall into your own trap.

I. Kryvelev accuses V. Astafyev of contradicting the dogma of Christianity with bloodthirstiness. This is on the basis that the writer summons the "last punishing rain" upon the "blasphemers," that is, upon the atheists." That is what Kryvelev writes. But in his story, by turning to the distant episodes of the history of Georgia and recalling cases where the conquerors defiled sacred places, Astafyev calls for retribution against the "defilers of temples, the conquerors, blasphemers, and shouters" rather than against the atheists. Perhaps in his anger he avoided the penalties listed in the Criminal Code in effect in the Georgian SSR, but writers, of course, are a passionate lot.

But let us set aside the paradoxes of the figurative form of thinking. A more puzzling paradox is before us. Let us turn back a little. I. Kryvelev (not Astafyev!) writes: "Blasphemers," that is, atheists... " Allow me, as a staunch atheist, to rebel: what else is behind "that is"? Are "defilement of the temples," "conquests," and "blasphemy" for I. Kryvelev possibly synonyms for scientific atheism? Besides, such an understanding of atheism enters into glaring conflict with the author's assertion made two paragraphs lower that morality is "organically inherent" to atheism. And not some second-rate morality but "nonreligious morality which unfailingly presupposes conscientiousness, fairness, and spirituality in the best and highest meaning of these words."

Alas, the text of the article published by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA puts before us an insoluble alternative: either atheism does not necessarily guarantee all the qualities listed or I. Kryvelev is profoundly religious.

Do I share the views on religion which in fragments creep into the books (in the retorts of their heroes) and articles by the writers examined? For the most part I do not. But even less do I share I. Kryvelev's position, which with all its certainty about the unassailability of its conventional atheistic

formulas smoothed out by the decades is unable to distinguish the shamanistic pseudointellectuals from those for whom God is an element of people's consciousness or a desperate attempt to in some way argue the need for kindness, conscience, love, and mercy...

I do not, for example, like the religious line of Ch. Aytmatov's novel "The Executioner's Block." The image of Avdiy Kallistratov seems unconvincing and contrived to me--he is a self-sacrificing lover of truth who, like Christ, is prepared through his own suffering and even death on the cross to atone for the sins of his contemporaries, who without belief in God have lost their way, and who is expelled from the seminary (for heretical attempts to find a "Contemporary God" who corresponds to the ideas and needs of our industrial, scientific century). And his theological searching looks shallow.

And in his attempts to use the Word of God to reeducate the criminals whose business is gathering and selling anasha [hashish] and the "junta" members headed by Ober-Kandalov, who have become brutalized by blood and vodka, he looks merely like a sick person whose behavior is by no means either psychologically or situationally motivated (let us note that he begins the antinarcotics preaching just when the audience, which has smoked a lot of hashish, becomes particularly dangerous).

The story of the love of Avdiy and Inga Fedorovna is cheap popular literature. The challenge of M. Bulgakov to give a new variant of the last conversation between Pontius Pilate and Christ is not met by Ch. Aytmatov, as was already noted by critics.

While with Bulgakov Pilate and Christ are not only full-fledged characters for whom responsible positions and philosophies of life carry weight but also full-blooded representatives of their time and historically, regionally, and socially "outlined", with Ch. Aytmatov the characters of Christ and Pilate seem neat and tailored to philosophy and to those logical schemes which support their argument (in itself quite interesting). But since this argument is addressed to today's reader and produced by today's situation, as a result of this system of dependencies even the figures of those arguing acquire a certain timeless and spaceless generality, or more roughly speaking, a certain abstract featurelessness...

And for all that, the novel "The Executioner's Block" has become a dramatic event of our literary life. That is the paradox.

Contemporary man with his almost fantastic scientific-technical might and nature which is defenseless in the face of this might; the disharmony and gap between the scientific-technical surge and clearly lagging (and waning!) spiritual and moral development; drug addiction and alcoholism and the difficulties of the struggle against them, the spiritual degradation of a certain declassé part of the population; each person's responsibility for everything that happens in the world in his time; the inevitability and inescapability of retribution and punishment for apostasy from the norms of life and norms of interrelation of man with man and man with nature regulated by the millennia... That is a by no means complete list of the problems and

issues about which Chingiz Aytmatov gives his writer's word in the novel--a word carefully thought out and reached through suffering.

Many pages of "The Executioner's Block" are written with enormous force of talent and with the penetrating quality characteristic of a great artist.

One can assert without hesitation that Ch. Aytmatov's new novel contains and passes on to readers an enormous concentrated charge of healthy social energy, affirms deep respect for the experience of our forefathers, wakens the conscience, and calls for actively opposing those negative phenomena which the party congress called us to fight against.

But based on the problems of the article all these no-longer-new assertions are interesting to us from this standpoint: are the merits of the novel which were listed and its moral-constructive potential realized despite the "God-seeking" line of the author, which is a serious part of it, or because of this line?

From the position of dogmatic atheism, which in my opinion the articles by I. Kryvelev and S. Kaltakhchyan represent, there can only be one answer: "despite"!

In other words, a work of art is considered here either a scientific-philosophical treatise or legal document which gives the right to make "orgvyvody" [possibly organizational conclusions].

An artist has the right not to be a philosopher and even less a scientist in interpreting the phenomena of life. Therefore, some of them in fact prove to be "prophets" and "pioneers" because their social and spiritual intuition is capable of outdistancing logical understanding of some aggravated contradictions. Through their skin they sense sore spots of social development and react to them (above all emotionally). This assertion is completely relevant to the revitalization of our major writers' interest in the problems of spirituality (including religious problems). That is the first thing.

But secondly, in order to try to solve the problem of the mystical orientation of certain works of art, the ideological content of the text and the subtext of each work in particular must be intensely studied anew without prejudice, and taking into account the particular situation in which it was created. This is not easy. It demands creative inspiration from the critic and the student of art and also demands methodological tools and understanding of the general principles of art's special relationships with religion and mysticism.

At the present time confusion and vulgarization reigns here among us, and as a result, to cite an example, criticism at one time suspected (and accused) the author of "The Master and Margarita" of God-knows-what, at the same time extolling works which under the guise of the latest scientific discoveries preached theories and hypotheses which were less than half a step away from the most undisguised mysticism. Up to that time our theory did not draw a clear line between "mythological thinking," which leads to a false picture of the world and its governing laws that helps develop a religious worldview, and



myth as an artistic genre and as a special "large block" philosophical method of figurative interpretation of existence.

In an open and even deliberately emphasized way myth as a genre records the fantastic quality of images and events reproduced in it. But mythological thinking, in contrast, always lays claim to the fundamental possibility of its assertions.

Myth, fantasy, and the religious topic among such writers as T. Mann, Goethe, Marquez, Bulgakov and others of that ilk are only a means to the most expressive revelation of the eternal philosophical (most often moral) problems and a method of interpreting the broadest questions of the meaning of life, the secrets of destiny, and the laws of existence and the human soul. Of course this assertion does not apply to all artists of the mythological direction; but when we speak of the major representatives of it, we should bear in mind that the religious belief they have is frequently purely external, while intellectual power and philosophical culture characterize the internal, deep essence of their art. And this is just what real atheism develops from and without which atheism does not exist, only primitive religious indifference.

But let us return to "The Executioner's Block." This novel demonstrates especially clearly how subtle and special to each case an analysis in the sphere of spiritual realities and in the sphere of art must be.

I talked above of the weaknesses of "The Executioner's Block" related precisely to the novel's religious line. They are obvious. And I cannot consider them virtues. But... That is the mystery of art, after all! In the "God-seeking" line of the novel "The Executioner's Block," which is very vulnerable from various standpoints, there is all the same some indispensable functional meaning.

The point is that this line seems to bring the contemporary events described in the novel into the broad coordinates of general human history and correlate them with the age-long quests of many generations of our ancestors for the immutable laws of human existence and imparts a special--resonant and eschatological--ring to today's events. The, generally speaking, absolutely specific events described in the novel are filled with deep symbolic meaning and acquire features of a menacing warning to all mankind about the coming universal catastrophe which approaches an outburst of rage of not only Nature (which in the novel is personified by the madness of Akbara, the she-wolf, who for the third time in a row has lost her litter), but of the entire universe, it seems; this is an outburst of the rage of nature which modern man brings about with his apostasy and obliviousness to the fundamental and mandatory norms of human life and the principles of one's relationship with another and with nature.

Why did I devote so much attention to a particular episode of our social life--the publication of the articles by I. Kryvelev and S. Kaltakhchyan? Because these articles are one of the last (I would like to think) cries of dogmatic atheism which in conditions of inadequate democratism and openness

claimed a monopoly on final truth in questions which represent vital universal interest and are very neglected in their elaboration, if one speaks frankly.

Fanaticism is not ruled out in places where there is "religion." In this case we have atheist fanaticism in its most militant form. But where there is fanaticism, there is fecklessness, intolerance, and substitution of monologues for dialogues and administrative abuse or menacing cries for conviction and enlightenment.

Decade after decade lightning bolts has been cast down from the Olympus of scientific atheism against every person who has dared to express an opinion about religion and atheism which to one extent or another depicts an idea beyond the limits of a few iron formulas recognized as conclusive by the Olympians.

One of these formulas is that in our society the social conditions for reproducing (not to mention reviving) religious ideology are lacking. The conditions do not exist; specialists in scientific atheism have been scrupulously guided by atheist indoctrination for more than half a century. But where, one wonders, did they come from, those "incorrect" views on religion of generations of Soviet writers who grew up in these conditions, including the most thoughtful, educated, and socially responsible ones, views which traumatize our doctors of philosophical sciences? It would be interesting to know who is responsible for this. Is it perhaps still above all they themselves and their colleagues? For the level of propaganda, as Lenin stressed, depends directly on nothing other than the contingent of lecturers. On it, on that contingent depend above all the content of the propaganda and its methods and its efficiency.

Dogmatism, cries, and fear of open controversy, unregulated direction of thinking, and penetrating questions in the work of forming an atheist worldview, I think, are fraught with failure as in no other work. History has not left us the right to illusions on this question after proving that of itself the "spontaneous materialism" of people who have grown up in conditions of nonreligious education does not turn into atheism without purposeful active intellectual and mental efforts.

The controversy about God has always taken and will take us into those spheres where man does not know enough and where hypotheses cannot be proven in practice. Atheism is the fruit of philosophical searching and like philosophy in general it must not be borrowed from somewhere in ready-made form but must be developed, taking into account that problems of spiritual life are always and inevitably the focus of attention of this branch of philosophy, or it must be achieved through suffering. Otherwise, we will have simply an unbeliever and a person indifferent to religion who heard from someone that "there is no God" and believed it, rather than an atheist. But look closely, how exactly is the atheist indoctrination of our youth carried out under the vigilant supervision of learned atheists? Alas, just on the basis of faith in their dogma as opposed to religious dogma.

Teachers and parents are usually certain that if "bad influences" and an "unhealthy environment" are absent, each person automatically becomes an



atheist in the process of assimilating the amount of knowledge which is envisioned by the educational program. And the special atheist "influence" is produced only in exceptional emergency cases.

But if a pupil does not wear a cross and does not chant the Psalms on Sundays and does not consider it a sin to go to the movies and to eat chops on Fridays, then it is believed that he is growing up to be a 100-percent atheist, as clearly follows from the statistics cited in the collection "Youth, Religion, and Atheism." But... is it not from these atheists that somewhat later those fervent supporters of Eastern mysticism and clients of "witches" and "prophets" which topical satirists write so often about in the papers are recruited?

The point is that there is no insurmountable barrier between religious indifference and subsequent religious belief. From them have come not atheists but "godless" people who simply do not think about those serious (philosophical!) problems for which the development of an independent viewpoint is the only path to atheism.

Primitive, "spontaneous" materialism is based precisely on the absence of the developed theoretical thought without which atheism is inconceivable. Everyday custom and practice in themselves generally do not push people toward religion. Children who live without contacts with believers, of course, also grow up nonbelievers. But there is no special merit of theirs in that.

It is precisely this method of atheist indoctrination and education, echoed by the articles of I. Kryvelev and S. Kaltakchyan, that has resulted in the "disease" of religious belief among us entering a chronic form which medicine calls "healed over."

In carrying on the dispute over the interrelationships of religion, mysticism, and art in our society, we must also bear the future in mind.

But the prognosis is that the present outwardly relatively favorable situation will not stay the same for a long time. The expansion of openness, frankness of the printed word, and democracy in general may bring about a splash of the most unexpected manifestations of religious belief and mysticism in our artistic culture, and by no means with the predominance of the high intellectual and moral level such as we have in the works of V. Bykov, V. Astafyev, and Ch. Aytmatov.

This splash must not be feared but we must be prepared for it. We must be prepared for serious, thoughtful, creative work, controversy, and searching for answers to questions which neither the representatives of the Enlightenment of the 18th-19th centuries nor the founders of Marxism managed to solve.

4. "Something is missing, but what?... "

Critics have a good rule: in any work evaluate only what is in it without presenting the author with claims as to what is not there and what would be good to have, as it seems to the reviewer.

And still, we do not have the right to leave the impression of the reader Klopova on Yevtushenko's article that "something is missing"--either solid quotations or the "ability to really delve into the problem"--without comment. If a poet of Yevtushenko's stature undertakes to write about religion, he certainly should "know the ABC's." And not only Yevtushenko, needless to say. The irony of S. Averintsev that Pilate's wife calls him Pontius is completely right. And confusing the terms of address "father" and "excellency" by reproducing the custom of the Orthodox church is, of course, not so good. But all this is the "ABC's," that is, by no means the limit of what a writer should know in entering into religious problems.

In recent years talk has frequently turned to the urgent need to change the attitude toward philosophical culture--in particular, that philosophy is a special science. When philosophy is the result of serious searching for the answers to "age-old" questions of human existence, one cannot get by with one mind alone here, of course. Great emotions are needed and exertion of the soul and craving for the ideal are needed. Our best writers have never been short on that. However, without systematic analytical work philosophy does not exist either. Philosophy forges a worldview, but the world is too complex and dialectical a unity and one cannot study it at odd moments, in passing, with the help of carelessly invented methods. Philosophy just begins where this very primitive, empirical, and patchy knowledge and ideas end. And where arbitrariness and caprice of tastes end.

Because of the real features of aesthetic reality (its illogical nature) in art, the cult of talent and mastery to which "knowledge of life" is often added in our conditions has long been established; this "knowledge of life" for some reason implies, alas, not depth of penetration into the laws of existence, not understanding of the most important problems of social life, and not breadth of range of interests, but above all empirical closeness to real facts and events and the number of "life observations" and "unique details" stored for future use.

Of course, abstract "professorial" philosophy is unable to produce an artist, but high ideals and a high level of spiritual (moral-aesthetic and social-ideological) searching are impossible without a broad range of interests, a deep intellect, and an unbiased attitude toward facts.

In itself this is no discovery. At the very least, if one is speaking of the tradition of Russian classical literature, then the concept of the "literary medium" has for a long, long time had to include interest in philosophy, knowledge of it, and participation in disputes on the most pressing of its problems. And this experience, the experience of our classics, affirms the importance and fruitfulness of friendship with philosophy, but one must not fail to note that among the contemporary artistic intelligentsia a somewhat scornful attitude toward it has become established. In many respects contemporary philosophy itself is to blame; it shows a desire to change from the "maidservant of theology," as it was considered for many centuries, to the "maidservant of physics" and treats problems of human spirituality in an extremely incidental way.

But who if not writers and artists are the ones who in the past have not allowed philosophy to get bogged down in scholasticism and general human love of knowledge? Nonetheless, the point is that they did not wait for someone to work up a theory which suited them in all respects--they considered it their job and their concern.

Why, after starting to talk about the "ABC's" of religious problems, did we suddenly switch over to philosophy in its most global variant? Precisely because people too often seek an association with theism and atheism in overly narrow spheres.

Atheism arises not out of the critical study of religion but out of critical interpretation of the data of physics, psychology, ethics, and aesthetics and the theory of cognition... The main difficulty here is that mankind up to now has not yet developed an orderly materialist philosophy of the spirit.

There is one more illustration. Social usefulness and correspondence to the interests of social progress act as the criterion of morality in all our works and textbooks. It seems true and noble, but...

However, if evil and immorality can prove useful and a person living "by his conscience" usually brings nothing but trouble to everyone (and to himself), then what can we do with the seemingly generally recognized criterion of morality? Must we not, then, relying on this, declare the worst features of people the best, and vice-versa. Alas, that has happened in practice.

Somehow the artistic intelligentsia is not showing any interest in natural-scientific and social-historical foundations and mechanisms of human morality. It is not fashionable right now. Religious (extremely vague but so "poetic"!) revelations and declarations on that account are something else!

The illusion which has again become popular of the "savior image" of religion in the sphere of morals in many respects springs from that--from a lack of understanding of the real, mundane, and natural causes of human morality.

Atheism does not require knocking up the price by proving that high morality is "organically inherent" to it. Atheism does not create special moral values, but by explaining the mundane, social nature of the behests of the "categorical imperative," it liberates man from the fetters of all supposedly "higher beings" and the behests of morals. Atheism teaches man to listen to the behests of his own soul and his own conscience, which are the most sensitive indicators of morality and the highest judge of them. That is not a small thing.

But religion always contains a moral doctrine which is based on such lofty injunctions that any human interest and any personal conviction is nothing compared to it.

Many myths in religion have now come to life anew (by themselves? That is doubtful) in the minds of the intelligentsia--the myth of the unselfishness of the servant of the church, the myth of the age-old meekness, kindness, and peaceableness of all believers, and the myth of the age-old beneficial effect

of religion in developing human culture. But it is precisely the myth of the absolute irreplaceability of faith in God in spheres of human spirituality, above all in the sphere of morality, which is the most popular myth and the one which obscures our intellect.

Of course, perhaps it will be clearly necessary to once again go through that circle of searching, testing, doubts, and controversy which mankind has already gone through more than once in discussing the two questions: is there a God? and do we need one if he does not exist?

But I would very much hope, nonetheless, that we will begin these arguments not from scratch but from the quite lofty point to which they were raised by our predecessors.

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## PAPER RESPONDS TO LETTERS FROM CONSERVATIVE 'EXTREMISTS'

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 May 87 p 3

[Article by A. Vasinskiy: "Response to Extremists -Once More on the Subject of Cultural Polemics"]

[Text] Sevastopol, to N. V. Videneev, copy to the All-Union Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments -There are readers who resent the fact that although we are presently, they say, enjoying a time of openness, their letters are not published because, "we do not write what suits the editorial board and the journalists who work for it."

Well, first of all, this is not true. We have a column entitled: "Readers' Opinion: For, Against, Different Viewpoint," where critical, and even extremely harsh, responses from those who disagree are published. Sometimes letters arrive which are "borderline", so to speak, but we even allow them, recalling that openness is a mirror which should reflect not only like-minded people who appear very becoming, but also everyone who looks into it, including those who are not very "photogenic." However, to publish does not mean that one has to agree, nor does it mean that one does not have the right to raise an objection or disagree. This was the case with a letter from reader, G. Bochevarov of Leningrad, who spoke out against the televised debates and the opinion published about them in IZVESTIYA and sent an accusatory letter to our newspaper and copies to the USSR KGB and USSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting, Soviet Council of Ministers. In response, a reply from A. Bovin and a selection of readers' letters were published (IZVESTIYA Nos. 73 and 108 of 1987).

Why is it difficult to converse with extremists? It is the fact that they know the answer even before the conditions for any task are announced. They consider themselves the victors long before any debate or televised discussion is held (regardless of the subject). They believe themselves right in advance, relying on their credo which goes: we are right, because we are always right.

It is extremely easy to portray them in caustic caricature. However, the whole point is that many of them are completely sincere (and this must be respected), and moreover they are honest and worthy people who cannot make the effort to remind themselves that shortcomings are an extension of our virtues:



if self-confidence is extended just a little more than necessary, the result is conceit, etc. Intolerance of a different opinion and an uncompromising attitude are also among the complex and variable qualities, and this should be mentioned because people, as well as the cause, suffer from this unfortunate virtue-shortcoming syndrome.

Before me is a stack of letters. Extremists are making insulting and serious accusations -"harmful ideas", "foreign views", etc. -against writers who have written approvingly about the family contract and the law concerning custom labor. All these "harmful ideas" and "foreign views" are purported to be "the opinion of the majority." Mere verbiage such as, "to brand", "deviants", "subversive activity" . . . . Attacks and labels are often directed not to the writers of the publications, requesting an explanation of the truth in an argument or debate, but are sent directly to the authorities, requesting that practical conclusions be drawn and measures taken in accordance with the policies of the personnel department. I was assigned the unpleasant task of writing the article, "Who Allowed It Not To Be Allowed", which spoke of the plethora of bans and excessive number of approvals in economic practice, -a reader from Smolensk accused me of anarchic sympathies and reminded the management that there should be no place for such people as I on the editorial board. What can be done? You're damned if you do and damned if you don't! How can a person be convinced that unjustified bans and spokes in the wheels of independence interfere terribly with the efficiency of our work? -and what is more, if a bolt of lightning is required to plot each of its zigzags and bends, how many years would it take to strike the earth?

Letters, letters . . . . Why do arguments sometimes have no effect? Perhaps they simply do not penetrate? Perhaps the brain of an extremist is structured in such a way that nothing discordant or out of the ordinary percolates into it? A recent report mentioned that of several illnesses which affect the intellectual realm during a time of stagnation, dogmatism is of particular importance due to the extent to which it has spread, the strength of its numbing effect and the degree to which it threatens to accelerate, for dogmatism by its very nature denies development.

It is believed that dogmatism is a so-called senile illness of "rightness." The letters against televised debates and "12th stage" broadcasts are supposedly written by a few elderly people, pensioners, etc. However, on my table there are a considerable number of letters from veterans who are in no way suffering from this illness. "I belong to the 'senile' generation," writes war veteran, F. Shkirmankov, from Slavgorod in Mogilevskiy Oblast, "but I completely disagree with some of your 'angry' opponents. You were right when you wrote that like-mindedness and one-mindedness are not synonymous. How much we have lost during the years of sham unanimity, when all decisions were only made "unanimously." We didn't notice how formal "unanimity" turned into indifference (it doesn't matter because no one is going to listen to you and you can't change anything)." Another reader, Yu. D. Krylov, an engineer on the Kuybyshevskaya Railroad wrote, "Dogmatists threaten that if everyone is allowed to spout off, there is no telling where we will be headed. It is not this but something else we should be afraid of: people will be allowed to

spout off, but no one will seriously start anything, they are no longer accustomed to showing initiative, are discouraged and some have even been burned."

I admit that I have never been able to understand what the dogmatist is able to cling to, what, frankly speaking, he has to be proud of. What does he have to his credit? Does he object to the present family contracts and cooperative associations in rural areas because five or ten years ago our stores were overflowing with goods and commodities? That is not true, they were not overflowing. In response, hot-headed theorists have rushed to announce the advent of a developed phase of society while practical people are reviewing the question of the necessity for the Food Program. Or perhaps dogmatists like the fact that everyone in the recent past spoke according to pieces of paper? Why according to pieces of paper? Because often people spoke not because they had something that needed to be said but to prevent themselves from blurting out something superfluous. . . . I would liked to have seen the dogmatist two years ago into whose mind would have strayed without permission the seditious thought of two candidates standing for election to one deputy position, yes, his mind must have gone into convulsions!

In my opinion, engineer Yuri Krylov was absolutely right when he wrote what it was we should be afraid of.

We should also avoid numbing dogmatism, which considers itself the emissary of the highest order of truth. Such a dogmatist goes about life with a permanent suspicious squint and is constantly looking into his briefcase as though there were some standard of truth there similar to the platinum standard meter that is kept at the Bureau of Weights and Measures in Sevres. Yet what is this standard of truth made of -what metal, what quotes and instructions? And is it possible to approach every event and phenomenon in a rapidly changing life with one eternal standard, especially if one great dialectician said of the standard itself and of truth itself, "Truth is born as heresy, and dies as prejudice"?

I made a pledge to be tolerant of other people's most intolerant opinions, refraining from making a rejoinder, but it is not always possible because extremists turn their uncompromising attitude into a facade for uncovering sedition. It is a tried and tested tactic: supposedly, they keep a watchful eye on some people, and everyone becomes hypnotized and vulnerable . . . . Uncompromising extremists, who are intolerant of other people's opinions and see sedition and scandal in everything, would do well to remember V. I. Lenin's note sent to one of the leaders of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture: ". . . you should not see 'scandal' . . . in those who think differently or those who approach a matter differently, but value independent people" (Complete Collected Works, vol. 54, p. 73).

The letter from an inhabitant of Sevastopol, N. V. Videneev, to whom this response was directed through the newspaper, contains a reproach with the mentioned facade. He and two like-minded friends are very insulted that their opinion was not brought to the attention of the general public, but was doomed to be featured only in correspondence with the writer of the "provocative" article. Well what of it, I will give their opinion alone word for word. This

is what they wrote in response to the article, "Return of Ostozhenka": "Your joy over the return of Ostozhenka is doubtlessly shared by those who think like you, white emigre offspring who are harmful to our Soviet country, who when they come to the country as tourists are happier to see the former house or farmstead of their ancestors on 'dear old' Ostozhenka than on proletarian Metrostroevskaya." Have you noticed, reader, the above-mentioned tried and tested tactic? Under the guise of personal super-vigilance and concern for social welfare, a matter of great patriotic importance is belittled and distrust is sewn concerning the preservation of treasures of our national history. Well, who gave extremists the right to surrender the honor of showing concern for our culture and our roots to "white emigre offspring"; is it not dear to ourselves, are we not allowed to rejoice, even if only in the fact that of hundreds of forfeited indiginous Russian street and alley names in Moscow, two former names, Ostozhenka and Khamovnicheskiy Bank, have been restored? For we have already said that we have nothing against the worthy street name of Metrostroevskaya, but in 1935 a space had to be found for it in a new section. How many times must it be explained that in order to immortalise something or someone, something or someone has to be unceremoniously "unimmortalised?" Understand that Ostozhenka was restored according to the law of historical justice as a Moscow old-timer from the 16th century. It should never have been renamed, because the space was occupied, understand? It had been oc-cu-pied for more than 400 years! Why then plop it on the knees of an honored name and old man instead of looking around for an unoccupied space?

I do not think, comrade Videneev, that you have thought through to the end the consequences of similar arguments and want to see them put into practice. However, letters arrive at the ispolkom with these postscripts about "white emigre offspring" and, you know, it has an effect. For the matter of restoring the most valuable historical names has been suspended. At least it is good that nothing else is apparently being renamed.

In response to N. V. Videneev, I expressly wrote about sending a copy to the All-Union Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, and this, do not fear, is a peaceful, humanitarian organization. I wrote so that they would be aware of these demagogic tactics and not yield to them. For even they are being attacked by the implacable extremists. For example, I know that by restoring ancient temples, extremists are also accusing them of... restoring religion.

What can be done about these "facades" from extremists? How should we react to them? They even understood an appeal for tolerance as tolerance not of debatable opinions to avoid irreparable mistakes, but as tolerance of everything as a whole, including bribe-takers, bureaucrats, etc. They thought this up themselves and, understandably, portrayed an "accomplice." This is fine by me, but how many other people and good works have seriously suffered from this aggressive intolerance! Well, let it continue to be expressed in words, debates and heated argument, for this often necessitates action.

I admit that I have mixed feelings. However, even when there is no doubt that a person is sincere and really thinks that way, I have to recall the grievous consequences of intolerance, for example, the following: at one time,

extremists -and many sincere ones! -also attacked "pseudo-scientists" with labels and facades, which today not all young people mastering the rudiments of computerization in school have even heard about. At that time, more than 40 years ago, many extremists, who were shouting loudly at everyone, were simply incapable of having any kind of opinion at all, either positive or negative. Rather their opinions were handed down to them from above, and at the Academy of Sciences they do not make mistakes, "there" they know . . . .

But why are extremists always striving to choose intolerance, why do they frequently "go too far" not in the direction of forgiveness, but in the direction of irreparable eradication? Would it not be more sensible to tolerate and bide one's time in unclear and difficult situations? And if mistakes are made, tend in the direction of kindness. The lawyers are correct when they say that it is better to let a guilty person run free than put an innocent person in prison. Because a free criminal can still be caught, but someone executed by mistake cannot be brought back from the dead. . . .

Where are those extremist scoundrels today who have damaged our domestic sciences, which, for the information of super-vigilant bawlers, also include departments of the defense industry? What has the need to make up for lost time cost our society? What have the intolerant eradicators of sedition paid for this? Is it possible that in doing this they have gotten off scot-free, except for some mumbled words: "Yes, a small mistake was made . . ."? Where are you, you intolerant extremists, valiant "emissaries of truth" with home-made standards in your briefcases? Where are you? Raise your hands. Answer.

No answer is heard.

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## VOZNESENSKY CRITICIZES 'NATIONALISTIC' TENDENCIES OF 'PAMYAT'

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 21 Jun 87 p 3

[Article and interview with Andrey Voznesensky by S. Seyranyan: "Nostalgia for the Present;" date and place not given]

[Text] The following bitter words come straight from the pen of none other than Andrey Voznesensky:

Esteemed literary brethren! / How happy I am that / despite the general clemency / I alone am cursed. / Like a black sheep / my life is not in vain: / I highlight the perfection / of my unimpeachable colleagues.

Yet his poetic career has been a happy one. Voznesensky has his readers, who emerge from the depths of the Polytechnical Museum able to comprehend cities and hamlets, countries and continents. Voznesensky has his poetic voice, the magic of which bewitches persons of all intellectual bents. And Voznesensky has his enemies, also of all intellectual bents.

This sort of life does not leave much room to relax. In fact, it forces one to defend his poetic "I" with ever newer poems, which become "apples with razor blades" for those who use them as light bedtime reading or as sort of an intellectual tranquilizer. In accordance with all laws of poetry, poems which through some supernatural means juxtapose words like vale, (cha-ir) [not further identified], God, universal joint, strip tease, Boeing 707, self-made-man, and AIDS should be rejected, since they contain too many "foreign bodies." Nonetheless, they live on with no intention of perishing. And proof that this is actually the case emerged in the course of a meeting with the poet at the Movie House in Yerevan. I was truly amazed that there were so many middle-aged people among Voznesensky's admirers. The evening's organizers had planned a question and answer format for the meeting, but the hill of little white notes intended for the poet sat on the magazine stand that had been placed on the stage and grew inexorably larger, while the poet merely read poem after poem. It is no exaggeration to say that poetry reigned totally that day.

"Nostalgia for the Present" followed "Return to Sigulda," and "Maybe" followed "Lament for Two Unborn Poems." And then came something no one had yet heard: a fragment from his unfinished poem "The Green Monkey."

Andrey Voznesensky is worth listening too, if for no other reason than that when you open some tome in the future you will be able to hear his voice with its uniquely individual tones. To hear Voznesensky read his own work is an event second to none.

Although it was late and Voznesensky was tired after the meeting, he agreed to a quick interview with "Kommunist."

[Question] Andrey Andreyevich, what does the reform [perestroyka] mean to you?

[Answer] To me it means my job. A Chagall exhibit, publishing Pasternak--or, to be more precise, the preparation of a collection of his works in eight volumes--and publishing Khodasevich. These are the things I have been directly involved in myself. For me, the reform means that readings of Pasternak have finally been organized and the USSR Writers Union has laid a wreath at the grave of the poetic genius. Pasternak was thrown out of the Writers Union 27 years ago. In such a long period of silence, another Lermontov could have been born and died. So, Pasternak, Chagall, and Khodasevich are what the reform means to me.

[Question] Does your trip to Armenia have anything to do with the jubilee celebration of the 90th anniversary of Charents' birth?

[Answer] This occasion is both inspiring and tragic. It is immoral to speak of Charents and not remember 1937. I was very impressed by the room where Charents performed. People would literally absorb every word he said. I was shown a carpet into which the faces of people the Armenians consider sacred had been woven. Sacred because of the mark they have left on peoples' hearts and minds. Among them were Paruyr Sevak and Yeghishe Charents. It was unbelievably touching.

Yesterday we visited areas that had once been the bottom of a huge lake. This tragedy of the Armenian people is similar to the tragedy of many Russian rivers and Lake Baikal.

[Question] About Lake Baikal, doesn't it seem to you that the writers and prominent figures in the arts actively working to keep Baikal and even Sevan clean are getting cause and effect in the wrong order. Certainly there are mistakes in ecological policy and training that lead to serious problems, but these are problems that are isolated. It seems to me that this approach gets us to lash out at the most outrageous problems--like the tragedy of Lake Baikal, the Aral Sea, or Lake Sevan--but we lose sight of the ecological problem as a whole. Using this approach we end up patching holes in one place just to leave ourselves exposed in another.

[Answer] There is a certain amount of truth in what you say. I would say that our attitude toward nature is characterized by a pronounced intellectual laziness that we writers are trying in our own way to eliminate.

But I do not feel that the existence of global ecological problems means we should ignore individual ones. When a child is sick, we do not withhold treatment because hundreds of other children are sick and not being treated.

Everyone has to do his job. The fact that I may not be interested in Bulgakov does not mean others should not be involved in making his work known.

[Question] Does your perception of Armenia change each time you visit?

[Answer] You know, it was here in Armenia that I met with the famous American Poetess Diana Ovanesyan. She was translating my poems into English. Prior to that we had met in New York or Boston--I've forgotten which. I visited her house. On the outside it looked like a typical American home, but all the furniture and the entire atmosphere were pure Armenian, preserved in their primordial form. This was hardly unexpected. The Armenian people have ancient traditions that are evident today in every Armenian, wherever he may be. Every time I visit, my understanding of the true soul and culture of the country grows more profound. The museum of modern art always gives me a certain feeling. That is, that Saryan is a genius, that his genius consists in having been able to build a bridge linking the old, classical art with new forms of expression, and that he is the foundation on which the new art is anchored. In this respect, Armenia has been more fortunate than Russia. But I still have a somewhat touristic view of Armenia; I always have to go where all the other guests here go, when in fact I would like to spend some time in Armenia. You only truly understand a people when you visit individuals. I would like to come to Armenia incognito.

[Question] At your appearance today, you mentioned Armenia's efforts to preserve monuments of antiquity in very flattering terms. On the whole, we are accustomed to seeing this in a somewhat different light.

[Answer] I was well aware that there were people with whom my answer would not sit particularly well. First, everything depends on who is being compared with whom. I was comparing Armenia to Russia--to Moscow. We have a lot to learn from you in this respect. The first thing we could learn would be the very attitude toward antiquity. I have seen a lot of monuments in Armenia, once again from my narrow tourist's perspective. It seems to me that what I have been showed has been carefully, even passionately preserved."

[Question] Recently there has been considerable uproar over the publication of materials on "Pamyat," the informal association. What do you think about this?

[Answer] My attitude towards "Pamyat" is very serious. This is, if you wish, a scary question. The association started as a society advocating the preservation of architectural monuments, culture, and traditions. But the subsequent course of the movement--its nationalistic tendencies, national egocentrism, and overly free interpretations of history--have been highly undesirable. Those who have been misled need to be told the truth, and some of the members and especially the heads of "Pamyat" should be just plain kicked out.

My feeling is that "Pamyat" and everything related to its recent activities stem from delays in democratization. To be more precise, the lack of democracy in the recent past is to blame. What people need is nostalgia for the present, not for the past.

[KOMMUNIST] At this point, as if in affirmation of this thought, I recalled Voznesensky's poem "Nostalgia for the Present."

I do not know about the rest,/ but I feel a relentless nostalgia / but not for the past; / nostalgia for the present.

I think the work of Voznesensky, and of every major poet, is suffused with nostalgia for the present.

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## ACADEMICIAN LIKHACHEV DEFENDS ANGLETERRE DEMONSTRATORS

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 May 87 p 13

[Interview with Academician D.S. Likhachev by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Ilya Fonyakov: "They Need Trust;" date and place not given]

[Text] Well-known Leningrad LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Ilya Fonyakov asked the famous scholar and writer the following questions.

[Question] Dmitriy Sergeyevich, recently you have had the opportunity to be in direct contact, as it is called, with representatives of "informal youth associations." What I am referring to are those youth groups that played a prominent part in the campaign to save the "Delvig House" and in the events surrounding the demolition of the "Angleterre" hotel on St. Isaac's Square. What are your feelings and what do you think about these people and their associations? What sort of attitude do you have toward them?

[Answer] The first thought to cross my mind when I think about these young men and women is: Who says our young people are no good? Really! Who says so? Well, we're the ones saying it, or at least a lot of us are. I'm not saying there is no cause for concern. But the events you were talking about have once again shown us the true colors, as it were, of our young people. And now we can restate a truth that has almost been killed by overuse: Our young people are good. They are marvelous. I say this with considerable authority, since I have spent a lot of time with them lately. To be more specific, I get visits from upper classmen at two Leningrad schools, one of which is on the Petrograd side, in the old downtown, and the other of which is in the new region, near Poklonnaya Gora. These young people are wonderful. They speak with tremendous enthusiasm about their city and its monuments. And they show an amazing willingness to serve a good cause.

As for the "informal association," my opinion of them is good as long as they are...good. Excuse the tautology, but it is necessary. The important thing is what has brought these people together. I don't think anyone will argue with the assertion that their aims are lofty and noble.

[Question] But the press has said there were some loudmouths at St. Isaac's Square and that they wanted no more than a chance to "sound off." And that although they pretended to be protecting the memory of Yesenin, it rapidly

became apparent that they had only the most superficial knowledge of his poetry.

[Answer] Well, so what if there were? You said yourself they were only there for the first few days. Then they disappeared. They realized there wasn't anything for them there. I might add that Leningrad's young people did not give the least bit of support to isolated attempts to imbue the occasion with primitive nationalistic overtones. On the whole, I have to say that the young people displayed exceptional civic maturity, propriety, and restraint in this unusual situation.

We have been complaining that young people are not sufficiently involved in civic matters, yet we saw that just the opposite is the case. Not only that, but they are involved in the best way possible, both in terms of what they believe and how they express it. What is there to be scared of? Wouldn't we be better off trying to put this source of energy to good use? Unconventional energetic young thinkers are just the kind of personnel urgently needed at the Leningrad section of the Culture Fund, as well as at other organizations, such as the Cultural and Historical Monument Preservation Society.

[Question] But isn't there a danger that once these enthusiastic young people learn the ropes they will cease being as attractive as they are now and become typical functionaries.

[Answer] Everything probably depends on how the course of events progresses from here. I, for example, envision groups of young people--and not only young people--organized around certain cultural monuments. Examples might be the "Society of Friends of Pavlov Park," or Engineer Castle. I also think these groups should have more authority and broader powers than just the right to sweep the park sidewalks. Although I would like to add that young aren't afraid of working. The papers have been writing about the volunteers who helped the people restoring Pushkin's last apartment and about the friends of the Pushkin Preserve in Pskovskaya Oblast. Other countries have done the same thing. I just got back from France, where I took a look at what was happening to Turgenev's Bougival. Officials in Saint Cloud, which had once been part of Bougival, had decided to tear down the buildings in which Turgenev and Pauline Viardot lived in order to build a modern hotel on the site. As you can see, we are not the only ones to face these kinds of conflicts. However, people turned up, opposed the plan, and began helping the buildings' restorers. We are going to stay in contact with them and help them through the Culture Fund. I also think that our volunteer groups could use some financial backing--even if they have to earn the money themselves--in addition to their enthusiasm.

[Question] But they're going to need buildings in addition to both the enthusiasm and the money. Especially if they have plans to preserve cultural and historical monuments. And they need people who know what they are doing.

[Answer] Of course they do. This is the responsibility of specialists in the field. They need to deal with getting the word out about cultural and historical buildings and providing up-to-date authentic information. And not the kind of information we got about the "Angleterre." I don't want to pass up a chance to say something about school teachers here. They are the ones who

inculcated the cultural foundation in our people. We need to find ways to make the teaching profession as prestigious as possible. There is no way people should be going to education schools because they are "no good at mathematics." And the final output of teachers from education schools should be higher than the actual demand for them will be in order to deal with the ones who drop out over the next two or three years because the job doesn't suit them. Teaching is a vocation, and the only way to test for it is to try the individual out. A brilliant performance by a student teacher is still no guarantee that a person is ready for the day-to-day, systematic, dedicated work of the teaching profession. But now we're talking about a whole different topic.

[Question] OK, why don't we come back to our "informal groups." Doesn't it seem to you that to a great extent the upsurge in civic involvement we are talking about is unplanned and spontaneous? How come attention is focused on precisely these monuments? Leningrad has other more important monuments whose condition is alarming. For example, several places associated with Yesenin, who we were just talking about, are in trouble. So do we really need to save the hotel where he committed suicide?

[Answer] We need to save everything! Especially since we're not just talking about Yesenin's memory, but about the historical look of the square as well. This look is never going to be restored by waiting for the promised renovation. The building next to the "Angleterre" has been torn down, while across from it the gaping windows of a building associated with Dostoevsky stare at us. It was in this building that he was arrested in connection with the Petroshevtsy affair. What will happen to this building? If no one gets involved, it may end up being too late once again. The societies and inspectors we have now can't be everywhere, as we have discovered. So the "informal" helpers have come on the scene not a moment too soon, as they say. The trick is to see them as helpers and allies. And to trust them.

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## LOCAL OFFICIALS ACCUSED OF INDIFFERENCE TO CULTURAL PRESERVATION

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jun 87 p 1

[Article by Igor Dyadkov under the rubric "Our Dialogue": "Preservation on a Nationwide Scale"; first paragraph is introductory question from a reader's letter]

[Text] "I would like to ask a question. Isn't it time to put our money where our mouth is and ask the people responsible for saving, preserving, and restoring monuments what we are paying them for. It's time to get serious about saving the still remaining pearls of our culture, or we will end up leaving our descendants a faceless industrial landscape." From a letter by N. Maksimov, Moscow.

To tell the truth, the first time I read the letter from our Moscow reader, its abruptness and maximalist attitude took me by surprise, as it probably did you as well. But why don't we take a closer look at the unusual (no point in mincing words) situation we have at hand now. On the one hand, we have to admit that our party and state have focused considerable attention on the preservation and restoration of monuments. They have allocated unprecedented sums of money, adopted laws and made resolutions of great importance for cultural preservation, created the All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Cultural and Historical Monuments and the Culture Fund, and carried out many actual projects. Foreign tourists visiting the USSR are amazed at the national cultural riches they see in Moscow and Leningrad, and in many other cities, including smaller ones, throughout Russia. Examples of the above include the "Golden Ring," Suzdal, and Vladimir, as well as Novgorod, the third most important center of ancient Russian painting in the USSR. And what about the collections of art in Kostroma, Yaroslavl, Gorky, Tomsk, Tobolsk, and Kazan? And what about Great Ustyug, Putivl, Novgorod-Severskiy, and ancient Kashin?

But on the other hand, we must be just as rigorous in pointing out that the previous period of stagnation could not but affect our attitude towards the condition of architectural monuments and folk art. Somehow, impressive figures showing the growth of tourism kept us from seeing the slow dilapidation of many monuments, and in many cases the barbaric commercial attitude of many local authorities toward such monuments. This is why the idea of a conservation-oriented attitude toward cultural and historical monuments--including ancient monument cities--has become such a heated issue in



discussions of the country's intellectual life. We see evidence of this in our letters to the editor, which are literally filled with alarm signals.

What are readers writing about? "We can no longer be silent" was the title a group of workers, engineers, artists, engravers, economists, and cultural affairs personnel (only 159 signatures!) from the ancient city of Murom--which is preparing to celebrate its 1125th anniversary--gave the letter they wrote.

In it they said: "On the Oka side of the city, we are inundated in verdure in the summer (although this is but the remnants of the Murom Gardens), and the purely Russian, inimitable silhouettes of architectural monuments still take our breath away. Yet right next to this fairy tale beauty, we are made sick by...And it is now difficult for us to find a place where we can follow the poet's advice to: "sit secretly above the Oka."

The letter speaks about the wretched condition of many unique monuments in the city complex (Spasskiy Monastery, the 16th century Spaso-Preobrazhenskiy Cathedral, and Troitskiy Cathedral, where restoration efforts began in the 60's, but which is still falling apart). Why is no one being punished for violating both union- and republic-level laws on preserving and using cultural and historical monuments? In particular, how can people get away with violating the articles prohibiting use that damages the monuments. In Murom, for example, one monument has been handed over to sports groups, another is rented out as a movie theater, and yet another has had its courtyard turned into a garage. But just a few years ago, when Murom celebrated its 1100th anniversary, many monuments were repaired, fountains sparkled like fireworks, and the squares and parks were fragrant with the scent of flowers. Now the celebration is over, and desolation reigns.

The readers write: "We are worried not only about Murom, but about many other small cities outside the "Golden Ring." Enthusiasm alone will not enable lovers of antiquity to solve this problem. And while devotees of art may show up on their subbotniks with shovels, they are not going to be able to rebuild the roof of the Church of Kosma and Damian, install heating in Troitskiy Monastery and remove the people living there, make the architectural complex of Spasskiy Monastery accessible to view and enlarge the area being restored, or change the status of the Society for Preserving Cultural and Historical Monuments, which is currently unauthorized and is engaged primarily in collecting membership fees."

This letter is eloquent proof that Murom's lovers of monuments are not sitting twiddling their thumbs, despite their having been criticized by the local section of the VOOPIK [All-Union Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments]. They have had fair discussions with party gorkom and gorsoviet ispolkom representatives and their opinions have made their way into the newspaper "Murom Worker." So what made them appeal to our paper? Unfortunately, it was the apathy, incompetence, and ignorance of the laws governing preservation and use of historical and cultural monuments they encountered. Actually, ignorance may not be the problem, but this is scant comfort if the laws are not enforced.

In point of fact, the state's concern for cultural and historical monuments currently coexists with an unpardonable indifference on the part of local administrators and cultural agencies. It is impossible for me to believe that we are unable to identify local potential and resources (including an army of thousands who are devoted to the cause, as well as regular citizens) and fix up our own cities without demanding ever more of the money so urgently needed by our country throughout its complex economy! And it seems to me that local authorities are perfectly correct in requiring that heads of appropriate city services coordinate all their activities with state monument preservation agencies when building on or allocating land in the historic part of cities. We were informed about an area where this is done by S.L. Kisilev, chairman of the Kalinin ispolkom gorsoviet. While not everything depends on us ourselves, a lot does hang on our own initiative, persistence, and, ultimately, on our sense of responsibility.

Our letters are constantly telling us about egregious cases. In one place the fraternal tomb of Soviet soldiers was neglected; in another, a monument to the civil war period was allowed to become overgrown with grass. We have no choice but to believe that this "forgetfulness" will affect relations between people, the attitude towards culture as whole, and the whole system of values we live by.

But we will not succumb to the temptation to paint a picture of destruction--to twist the knife in the back, as it were. We will not pour salt on the wounds; they are too painful already. We will disregard the unfortunately typical responses to inquiries, injunctions, assurances, and promises from irresponsible responsible officials (unfortunately, they are not as rare as they should be), as well as the purely emotional (although understandable from a human standpoint) abstract appeals, commissions, meetings, and conventions, none of which, as we can see in the mail from our readers, have had anything resembling a positive effect.

The first thing an able-bodied honest person thinks when he sees a monument being destroyed is that he should save it himself. The letters have given us examples of this. For example, on his own initiative sculptor N. Silis made a sign to protect an 18th century church in his hometown of Osechniy pod Vyshnym Volochkom. Cut into stone, the sign reads: Damage Punishable By Law.

Enthusiasm is indeed helpful in the initial stages of restoration or on relatively small scale projects, and is still a necessary quality. But as a rule, enthusiasm of this kind runs up against the heavy defenses of indifferent persons who put culture near last place in their hierarchy of human values. Mail from our readers makes it perfectly clear that it is time to begin making constructive decisions. One such decision is that we must create a system of rigorous accountability for destruction to monuments. That is, renters and protectors would bear "iron-clad responsibility" for the condition of their monuments. Please forgive me for using such lofty words, but it is appropriate here for me to ask a question. That is, what is the official status of our lawyers and jurists, whose job is to ensure that the laws protecting historical and cultural monuments are faithfully executed. If they were, we would be getting a lot fewer letters than we are.

Our ideal should be to never even admit the possibility that a person indifferent to history and culture could have the job of resolving such issues. Voters are perfectly right to ask how a nominee for the position of deputy feels about physical historical monuments. And the questions should be more than less specific, addressing performance on a given farm or in a given rayon, oblast, or republic. Of course their performance in this area should be as rigorously scrutinized as it is in the economic, social, and basic services spheres.

In my opinion, a system of clearly defined sanctions was one of the most important issues addressed in the recent "Architectural Heritage," which was written by Mosgorispolkom [Moscow City Ispolkom] and is an integrated program of fixed cultural and historical monument preservation and use for the next 13 years.

But I think many readers will agree we must not forget the hierarchy of elements that constitutes a cultural education. A person must also know the history of his "immediate homeland"--the streets, city, and region. To a great extent, this is also the job of our teachers. I feel that it is therefore critical to expedite regular cooperation between teachers and museums, archives, and local library collections.

One other thing. Reader S. Kulikov from outside Moscow makes the following simultaneous inquiry and suggestion: Why not offer people the opportunity to put money into restoring and renovating the actual monuments they know and like? There is definitely some logic to this, and it is already being implemented in some places. However we need to deal with the issue implicit in the statement: "This money may be used for..." There have been more than a few cases where money allocated for restoration ended up being used by organizations specializing in "restoration" for building (to comply with the Plan) modern structures. This is clearly nothing more than flouting the will of the people.

Today it is young people who are helping preserve monuments and showing the greatest interest in history. Young people are involved in a number of very interesting archive research projects. Dedicated to their work and to popularizing national folklore, they save monuments, often quite selflessly. So I feel it is also the job of the Komsomol to solve the question of what kind of constructive help to give them.

We also receive letters expressing the following kinds of sentiments. "What is all the ruckus about? What do we need to restore junk for?" Such letters are rare; people of this ilk are normally not inclined to write. But one thing is clear: there are a lot of people who feel this way. Otherwise we would never have seen so many sad and concerned letters--letters expressing the painful fear that our monuments might not make it to the future.

But I do not want to end our conversation on a sad note. And I am justified in thinking that I will be able to get out of doing so. The reason for my optimism is the "Architectural Heritage" program I mentioned earlier. The way the program is framed is impressive in its scope and completeness.

According to the program, the total sum to be allocated for scientific restoration and major repairs between 1987 and 2000 would be over one billion rubles. Moscow's architectural complex will presumably acquire a younger look at last, not because undistinguishable buildings are erected, but because many of its unique buildings and monuments will be repaired or restored.

This is encouraging, but I feel we should look at it as only the impetus to undertake joint efforts to save history and monuments in other cities from bureaucratic willfulness and carelessness and from our own mind-eroding apathy.

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## COMMEMORATION OF AKHMATOVA EVOKES PROTESTS

PM030925 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Jul 87 p 2

[Letter from engineer I. Gorina of Leningrad: "Names for Akhmatova"]

[Text] "Many residents of our town think that the renaming of Labor Street as A.A. Akhmatova Street and Comintern Street as Architect B.P. Stasov Street is justified..." VPERED, a newspaper published in the city of Pushkin near Leningrad, wrote in May this year. More accurately, not near Leningrad but in Leningrad itself: From the administrative viewpoint Pushkin is a rayon of the city on the Neva. And so the invitation from the Leningrad Gorispolkom for everyone to think together about the problems of naming and renaming streets concerned the inhabitants of Pushkin as well.

I am not going to get involved in the argument about whether these precise streets should be renamed. But I was surprised and perplexed by the responses which appeared in the same newspaper 6 weeks later. "I was indignant about the proposal to rename Labor Street Akhmatova Street," retired Colonel I. Trizna writes. "In my opinion this is blasphemy. Everyone knows how Akhmatova's creative work was assessed in the postwar years. Some people are keen to popularize questionable poetesses, poets, and writers. All this is very harmful to patriotic education." "Is Trud Street being renamed Akhmatova Street merely because the poetess studied there and wrote her decadent poetry?" K. Pavlov echoes in surprise.

I do not have any personal grievances against the authors of these letters. After all, no one can force anybody to love a particular poet. And different viewpoints can be expressed: That is the point of glasnost. Incidentally, in the same newspaper review opposite opinions are also cited. For example: "We were particularly glad to go along Akhmatova Street. A world-famous poet, she deserved this..."

But all the same, which is it: "a world-famous poet" or a "questionable poetess" who wrote "decadent poetry?" I think that in this case it is a question of something more than a simple question of taste. It is a question of an artist's civic reputation and place in our culture's history. These are objective categories. Frankly, it seemed to me that there could not be any doubt here: Time is the best judge. The poems of Anna Akhmatova are published and republished, poetry evenings and festivals dedicated to her are held -- what more do we need as a witness of the fact that her name is recognized and loved? But even here, it turns out, it is not quite so simple... I think that our press, from VPERED to the respected LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, must dispel the last obscurities in this respect.

## DUDINTSEV ELABORATES ON NOVEL 'WHITE COATS'

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 May 87 p 3

[Interview with Vladimir Dudintsev, by N. Kataeva: "The Blossoming of Truth and Hope; The Writer on his Novel and Contemporaries"; date and place not specified; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Vladimir Dudintsev's new novel "White Coats" is about the crisis situation which developed in Soviet biological science following the session held by the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences in 1984, when an administrative ban was imposed on the creative endeavors of geneticists. The novel investigates an area of extremely interesting interrelationships which are in no way confined to scientific disciplines. Along with the reader, the author searches for an answer to the question: man, who are you?!

[Question] Vladimir Dmitrievich, what is your opinion concerning the so-called 'brilliant' errors in science? And what is the fine line that separates these 'errors' from moral and social phenomena, when great damage is done not only to science but to society as a whole?

[Answer] 'Brilliant' or any other errors in science are a necessary component of the process of acquiring knowledge. Lamark, who believed that progress was made due to species inheriting properties acquired as a result of environmental influences, made 'brilliant' mistakes. Scientists in the middle of the century, who assumed in a jug of dirty linen and wheat seed, mice could come into being on their own, made 'brilliant' mistakes. There are many similar examples. The inquisitive human mind strives to understand a phenomenon. This is the positive side of errors. Even extremely gifted scientists can make mistakes. The danger arises when they are credited with their mistakes and thus lead others astray.

The cognitive activity of scientists is separate from man's moral virtues. They have to be considered apart. Not only can a confused scientist use the external brilliance of his discoveries to triumph over competitors working in the same field, but discovering the truth may cause a great deal of damage to others if his morals are not the purest. Thus, scientific work is one thing, and the moral virtues of those engaged in it are quite another.

At times, a person whose cognitive activity includes the field of social relations may also turn to the path of errors. It is a well-known fact that Stalin studied all the sciences that he laid eyes on and, as was believed, was right about everything. I know of an instance when a special prize was awarded for a 'great discovery' whose error could today be detected by any schoolboy with a microscope.

Immorality lies not in the fact of a mistake but in the means by which the non-existent rightness is proved. He who is not right loves to take advantage of height in order to more easily shoot at his opponent. In the epilogue of my novel, I use the image of a 'high bank' from which Fascist troops fire on Soviet soldiers entrenched in the plain. There is no moral value in the position of those who fire from above, and those in the low-lying places knock the enemy from his 'height.'

[Question] What served as the incentive for 'White Coats?'

[Answer] In 1956 during a discussion of the novel 'Not By Bread Alone', I was driven from the stage mainly by those to whom the book had been aimed. They considered themselves triumphant and did not attempt to hide the fact, but the victory was relative and temporary. My opponents did not even suspect that some part of my nature was jumping for joy at having received valuable new information first hand. I remember how I surreptitiously hurried to write down the vital words dropped by my abusers. The more these people exerted themselves, the more material I received for my new work.

The second circumstance was this. The crushing defeat of the novel had an unexpected effect on the readers. I received a torrent of letters and visitors. People gave me diaries, memoirs and confessions which bore the seal of the historical process. And these also proved necessary for the new work, even then ideas for it began to take shape.

In my case, the great changes occurring in our society had an effect. I consider myself lucky because both my first and second novels coincided with contemporary phenomena.

Were there specific people who brought me to the idea of 'White Coats?' Yes, there were, and a considerable number. Firstly, Nina Aleksandrovna Lebedeva, a doctor of sciences and head of a base at the Institute of General Genetics imeni N. I. Vavilov. A scientist and woman of wisdom with hands like a farmer. I became acquainted with her thirty years ago at the recommendation of a certain biologist. Even then, working with traditional genetic methods, she was able to overcome the incapacity for hybridization between many species of wild South American potato and our cultivated varieties. The thing was that Columbus, who brought the potato to Europe, had taken it from the Indians who were the first selectionists. They selected large and fertile tubers, ignoring plants with resistance to illness and pests. Thus, Columbus brought a new plant to Europe, which has become our 'second bread', but along with it has arisen the problem of protecting this 'bread' from a multitude of ailments.

Lebedeva crossbred the cultivated potato with 29 wild species, thus making the hybrids immune to 'savages.' For this achievement, supporters of academician

Lysenko fired her, and Nina Aleksandrovna spent many years fighting for the right to give the people her knowledge and experience. During this long battle, the subject for someone's future book invisibly took shape. It proved to be mine.

[Question] Vladimir Dmitrievich, why does bureaucracy nevertheless so often triumph over a vital cause, ignorance over talent and scholasticism and demagogery over truth? In your novel, academician Ryadno triumphs over a talented person. Why, in your opinion, does this happen? And in contemporary life, take the field of social relations, literature, art and cinema, we talk so much today about how the power of the bureaucracy restricts useful activity. Have you been able to define the nature of this evil?

[Answer] I attempt to analyze all of these questions in my novel. A person, taken in isolation, is so immensely complex that the most sophisticated analyzing device cannot comprehend him. The current state of affairs in the social sciences makes it impossible to receive an answer to many questions which presently dictate how we live. At the same time, discoveries are occasionally made which amaze us with their proximity to the truth and help resolve a particular problem. Both are in flux, the studying subject and the object being studied. In this respect, I think that we are incorrect when we say that evil has triumphed: it has not triumphed, the belligerent parties have simply moved to a new stage. This process is endless: both good and evil want to 'do battle.'

Have you thought about where the 'important seats' at stadiums come from where simple mortals cannot elbow their way? Where does the very word 'prestige' come from? What is the origin of the famous 'deerskin cap' that adorns the heads of those who talk of universal brotherhood, unity and other such subjects? To have a deerskin cap is a desire that is understandable in human terms. However, for me, it is not so much headgear as a symbol. It represents the richest spectrum of values for which the longing soul strives.

It seems that it is impossible to escape from this spectrum. But suddenly I recall that people are already escaping from it! Those I call intelligent people are able to escape from it. I talk about these people a great deal in my book. I have thought about them my whole life, trying to understand. I determined, for example, that an indispensable characteristic of the intelligent person is goodness. I asked one of them once what good was. He answered, 'Good is suffering.' And added, 'Because you usually feel a rush of good feelings when you see someone else's suffering. Or when you have an intuitive feeling about it. And you rush to help. But why rush? Well, because someone else's suffering is unbearable.' When I heard these words, the name of my novel immediately came to me: 'White Coats.' Intelligence, just as goodness, is the sum of properties which define a whole group of people with which society adorns itself, who constantly and self-confidently struggle for our all-round progress. I can only say one thing about evil people: they always oppose good. Because good seeks progress, at least to share something with those who are suffering. . . ."

[Question] Your central character calls one of the reasons for his mistakes unjustified confidence in his rightness. In so doing, he recalls an old woman



who is throwing a bundle of wood onto the fire on which John Huss was sentenced to die. What did you mean by this? Is a person not supposed to be sure of the matter he is managing?

[Answer] Blind faith is dangerous. One should not believe, but know. Science is not religion, and skepticism does not hinder the scientist but helps him verify whether he has made his discovery correctly.

Modern man can manage without faith, since in faith one must yield one's sovereignty to another, and that is fraught with danger both for you and the matter in which you are engaged."

[Question] In your opinion, is it bad to be trusting?

[Answer] It is good only in one respect, from the point of view of discovering your moral purity compared to other people. For trustingness very often borders on naivety. Do you think that Strigalev trusts Fedor Ivanovich? Believes him? No, he knows who he is up against. And he deliberately entrusts him with that which is dearer to him than life. I repeat, deliberately!

[Question] Then why does Ryadno triumph?

[Answer] First, Ryadno's victory and the victories of evil people over good people in general are private triumphs, and they are explained by the fundamental properties of evil and good. The first employ tactics and means in their struggle which are forbidden among the second and formally rejected by public opinion. The second, on the other hand, restrict themselves by various moral standards. In my novel, the central character speaks of such a situation: good chases evil, before them is a lawn, evil rushes straight ahead and good runs around the lawn: mowed grass should never be trampled on. . . . I believe that things cannot continue in this way, and I am attempting to arm good people with criterion which will assist in depriving evil of its unfair advantages.

[Question] During the course of our conversation, is it possible to draw a parallel with such a concept in literature as 'Salieri-ism?' I am talking about instances where mediocrity strives with all its might to destroy talent and often succeeds.

[Answer] Talents, every conceivable ability, strength, dexterity, all of these qualities are scattered among people without regard for any past good deeds, social origin, relationship with the powerful of the world as a whole, etc. But how should fame be achieved for those who are not endowed with anything? Or even the satisfying awareness that they have benefited society? .

... In a hospital for paralyzed patients I saw a man who not only was incapable of thinking, but was even unable to move his hands. Whenever something tasty was brought up to his face, he began to mumble and twitch crudely, striving to reach the longed-for treat. How strong is our urge to consume.

However, very few people are able to produce things of value. And it seems to me that this disharmony is at times the reason that man reaches the highway

with a bludgeon, the inarticulate passion within him cannot find satisfaction any other way. Pushkin's Salieri is a good example. Of course, he is loftier and doesn't have a yearning for fried pheasant (he already has that), but his soul, although it is lofty but immoral, hungers for glory, and he is not very different from the man who stands on the road with a bludgeon. He is unable to feel intuitively the suffering of someone close and have that cause him to suffer.

[Question] How do you understand the reorganization in our lives? Do you believe that anything is changing?

[Answer] Reorganization is taking place. A multitude of facts in the newspapers demonstrate this every day. The tone of television programs has changed, it is not longer eulogizing. I see decisive changes in journalism and the publishing industry. Admittedly, resistance can also be felt from those who would like life to continue as it was, with nothing changing.

The traditions of great Russian literature are these: those who have served it have neglected themselves and do not allow themselves to be attracted by the 'deerskin cap' even in their thoughts. This is what Mayakovskiy said: "I can say in all truthfulness that besides freshly washed shirts, I need nothing else' . . . If you could ask our great Pushkin, Gogol, Lermontov and Tolstoy today how they felt about reorganizing, I believe they would not want for anything. Even in earlier times they stood for righteousness.

[Question] Who do you see today as resembling your academician Ryadno? Under which guise do they exist, what do they do and what means do they use?

[Answer] Such Ryadnos still exist. For example, in literature. They are still sufficiently powerful in that they gather around them many like-minded people, but those who are a rank lower. It is characteristic that such people strive to occupy key administrative positions in literature, since these positions give them access to a means of subtle influence over everyone who dares to reach out their hand to the 'diamond on their crowns.' Appealing for openness, we at times expose this or the other of our Ryadnos, but we do not always get the anticipated result. Unfortunately . . . .

This only indicates how much work, courage, self-confidence and genuine intelligence are required from all of us to ensure that progress, for which the foundation has been laid, continues to move forward successfully.

12793

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## MOVIE ON LIFE OF ANDROPOV REVIEWED

PM121131 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 6 Aug 87 p 5

[Andrey Shenyakin article under the rubric "In Contest for the USSR State Prize": "A Man's Life and the March of History"]

[Text] Today this movie leaves a different impression than it did 2 and 1/2 years ago, at the time when it was made. What did the reviewers see at that time in the movie made by O. Uralov at the Central Studio of Documentary Movies and unpretentiously titled "Yu.v. Andropov. Pages from a Life?" What they saw, of course, was the skill with which it recreated an exhaustive and vivid image of a major politician on the basis of less than scanty materials. It is hard to disagree with this conclusion.

Nothing has been omitted, and the movie provides a place for everything -- for basic landmarks in his life and for narratives by friends, comrades in arms, and colleagues adding more and more new features in the portraits and expanding our knowledge of the man who came to the CPSU's leadership on the threshold of a new period in the history of the party and the country. As well as discussion about his activity in the international arena, devoted to the struggle to preserve peace and terminate the arms race. And, finally, a particularly intimate personal introduction to Yuriy Vladimirovich's family, his poetry... A calm and restrained narrative, sorrow for the loss, regret for unrealized plans, both inside the country and abroad. The critics also noted something else: The resulting confidence of the audience, who saw primarily a living image rather than an icon in the movie, which was also something new and was perceived as a promising sign of the new and impatiently awaited time that seemed to be only a short step away....

But the last description that could be applied to this movie is a "museum piece" only of "archive" interest today. And I do not think that the studio has nominated it for the USSR State Prize just for the sake of crowning the impressive results with the glory they deserve. Especially in view of the fact that the passage of time has also brought to light certain faults -- the unnecessarily neutral and smooth narrative and, in my view, the excessively sparse use made in the movie of the available contemporary material. The imbalance is particularly noticeable in certain parts of the movie -- specifically, not enough has been said about the period when Yu.v. Andropov was head of the USSR KGB.

The main interest of the movie today consists of the prerequisites for changes conceived, as a viewing shows, right then in 1983, and they are visible quite clearly, "from within" the material itself. Examples? By all means: Being already aware of how events would develop, it is twice as interesting to hear the definitions of the prevailing situation made by Yu.v. Andropov and his demand to "review the attitude toward work, overcome the difficulties, and strengthen discipline," and who could dispute that? But how was this to be done if the former economic mechanism's potential had been fully used up, and this conclusion was not yet self-evident? A legitimate question. And for the first time in many years a general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee frankly said that he had "no prescriptions for every single occurrence in life and the answer must be sought collectively."

Now it is already clear to everyone that the issue is not just discipline as such -- all public institutions have to be restructured, and not just the economic mechanism alone. But in order to enable the party's collective mind to elaborate the concept of restructuring, it was necessary to take the initial step in interpreting the harsh and pre-crisis consequences of the tragical epoch of stagnation. That step was taken, and O. Uralov (cameraman S. Cherkasov and consultants P. Laptev, I. Rozanov, and V. Sharapov worked together with him on the movie) tells us who initiated it, why it was that this man in particular shouldered the historical responsibility for the consequences of this step, and what personal qualities helped him as a leader. The result is a movie about the link between one specific man's life story and the fate of the country, about their indivisibility.

How has this been done? Throughout its length, the movie adheres to one method that is fundamental for the director: The chronicle of the thirties and of the war years, followed by unique pictures of the Hungarian events in 1956, are constantly contrasted and combined with pictures showing the last years of the activity of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, as if to provide a reference point for the entire narrative. And all who are asked about Yu.v. Andropov single out independently the main feature of the character of the movie's hero: His ability to understand people and his genuine interest in them, and hence his talent as organizer, his businesslike efficiency, personal modesty, impartiality, objectivity, and purposefulness. And all these qualities strengthened the political will of the future leader, who learned to make responsible decisions at critical and crucial times in history. There would seem to be room for an epic work here. But when, at the end of the movie, Yu.V. Andropov's poems are read in the background, talking about the transitory nature of all living things and about man's indestructibility "on his way to the dawn," your thoughts turn not only to the fact that he tried to bring our common dawn closer, but also to his personal self-sacrifice, to something unrealized and hidden that was lost with him for ever.

...The movie is a sincere tribute to his memory.

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## KIEV DAILY FORECASTS REVIVAL OF FILM INDUSTRY

AU041356 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 28 Jul 87 p 4

[Article by A. Plakhov, Candidate of Art Criticism, board secretary of the USSR Cinema Workers Unions: "The Second Birth -- Shelved Films Will Be Screened"]

[Excerpts] The destiny of these films has been a dramatic one: created 5, 10, and some even 20 years ago, they had -- by force of dogmatic directives, and departmental subjectivism -- been shelved and had missed their audiences. In the last two years, facts of this kind have become subject to serious public discussions, first in the press, and then at the Fifth Congress of the USSR Cinema Workers Union (in May 1986). Precisely by a decision of the congress, a special commission was established to handle controversial creative questions. The commission integrates prestigious film directors, playwrights, critics, and representatives of the State Committee for Cinematography.

The main objective of the arbitration commission is to enable the people to share in everything of value in culture. No less important is the moral purpose: to create in cinematography an atmosphere that would rule out unfairness and bureaucratic pressure on artists.

However, as a result of the discussion, not all motion pictures have been recommended to be widely distributed. Some of them have become outdated and are now only of local interest.

Some time ago, we welcomed the second birth of Elem Klimov's "Agony," Aleksey German's "Check Points on the Roads," and Gleb Panfilov's "The Subject." But these were individual cases. An entire range of "new old" films will now be distributed, including Andrey Smirnov's "The Angel," Larisa Shepitko's "The Homeland of Electricity," and Gennadiy Poloka's "The Intervention"; the screen adaptations of the classics by Aleksandr Ostrovskiy (Vladimir Motyl's "The Woods") and Fedor Dostoyevskiy (Aleksandr Alov and Vladimir Naumov's "A Bad Joke"). Among the shelved films, there happened to be, in addition to feature films, quite a few documentaries, television, and cartoon films. The list, initially a short one, now includes several dozens of items.

The commission's activity has already made it possible to review many things in our habitual ideas and evaluations. Thus, having familiarized ourselves with the difficult destiny of the film "A Spring for those Thirsty Ones," shot by the Kiev director Yuriy Ilyenko as long ago as the mid-sixties, we now understand why the trend of "a poetical motion picture," so brilliantly initiated in the Ukraine by Sergey Paradzhanov, had died away. Mark Osepyan's motion picture "Ivan's Cutter," had it been circulated in time, could have established a blend of realism with controversy [problemnost] and inspired poetry in Soviet cinematography; instead, priority was given to oversimplified productions of dramas and superficial exercises on the topics of the day.

Some time ago Elem Klimov (his "Agony" was then still shelved) said that the creative energy spent by an artist on his work exerts an influence on the environment even when the film lies in a safe and does not come to life on the screen. This is not a mysticism: There are films in which civil feelings pulsate, which have new ideas to express in art, and without such motion pictures the change now experienced by Soviet society in its life and consciousness would have been impossible.

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## SOVIET ART UNDER ATTACK, CLAIMS RSFSR ARTIST

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 May 87 p 1

[Article by Valentin Sidorov, RSFSR national artist, under the rubric "Our Dialogue": "For the Scope of Life."]

[Text] Our lives these days are in many ways unusual: there has indeed never before been as many arguments, debates and violent clashes of opinion nor, most importantly, the deep and serious concern about what will become of our fine arts in the near future, how they will be able to meet the demands of the times and the people, and where they will stand in the current reorganization process.

In general, with unprecedented urgency, time is confronting all artists today with the problem of choosing their own fate. It is making all of us aware that now is the time for making the most responsible decisions, decisions on which the fate and course of our entire Soviet fine arts will depend.

This is the situation we find ourselves in as we approach our All-Russian forum, the 6th Artists' Congress. What has preceded our present congress? Apart from our basic exhibition activity, we have held zonal and regional meetings, for example, in the largest cities of the Russian Federation, Moscow, Leningrad, Yaroslavl, Penza, Krasnoyarsk . . . . At these meetings, which took place under completely new circumstances, anyone who wished, our entire active membership, had the opportunity to express their opinion concerning urgent matters.

A great campaign was also held to elect delegates to our 6th RSFSR Artists' Congress. And everywhere the elections were also held under new conditions. However, it may be said that we were certainly not always and everywhere able to make use of the advantages which these new conditions made available to us. There were speeches which diverged from the urgent problems of creativity. Unfortunately, there was also unpleasant information about personal scores due to which several leading artists, who have done a considerable amount for our art, were not elected to the congress. It should be admitted that, yes, there are losses during elections. However, I think that the congress will be held in an atmosphere of unity and consolidation of every strong artistic force.

What do I expect from the congress? I am convinced that its focal point will be issues of creativity, issues which are formulated so clearly in the decisions of the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. We are all presently thinking about how to respond in deed to Lenin's concern for the party, to the appeal to cultural officials concerning the creation of works of art of a high artistic level and emotional incandescence. I hope that we will be able to conduct with complete sincerity and responsibility an exacting, demanding and unprejudiced discussion on the congress stage concerning both the shortcomings of our work and the negative phenomena in the creative environment.

Similar problems were mentioned at the regional meetings. The main problem is one of realism in our art. We believe that the school of realism truly has inexhaustible potential: to it belong the highest artistic achievements of our century. Of particular significance here is the contribution of Soviet art, which embraces the most advanced school, that of socialist realism. It is founded primarily on a deep understanding and portrayal of the truth of life, on national hopes, party passion and the purposefulness of reorganization. Of course, these fundamental principles should not be interpreted dogmatically: they are also found in flux, development, in the process of improvement, in searches for renewal. This is why we are talking specifically of the culture of realism, of its scope and constant enrichment in the process of becoming acquainted with changing reality.

Present critics of realism (and they do exist!) are attempting to reduce this understanding to the dispassionate portrayal of what is before our eyes. It must be said that this is a vulgar interpretation of it, it dismisses the essence, that which defines genuine realism, the expression primarily of feelings and thoughts which are in harmony with the times, it is creativity aimed at understanding the supreme issues of everyday life, the link which unites man with the universe, his native land and selflessness. Our realism does not have anything in common with the dismal portrayal of morals and manners, it is in its very essence the unveiling of the poetic character, be it of man or nature.

We will no doubt also talk at the congress about the role of native and world traditions in our art and about the use of the best of everything that has been achieved by the geniuses of mankind and every nation. The RSFSR Union of Artists has always stood for these principles. It must be admitted that it is not very pleasant to encounter the opinion that the RSFSR Artists' Union professes only the traditions of "peredvizhniki" [advanced, democratically oriented realist artists of the second half of the 19th century]. We believe that artistic traditions are not isolated or restricted to their contribution and experience alone, however great and significant these may be. Our traditions are both deeper and broader: they include everything that has been created in national art during the centuries preceding and following the "peredvizhniki", which is confirmed by the great achievements of many masters of our revolutionary era.

Unfortunately, there are also things which arouse alarm and concern. I am referring to the excessive increase in membership in our creative union, which is far from always justified. To be frank, the criteria for membership have



been lowered significantly during recent decades. And this cannot help but be reflected in the overall image of professionalism and expertise of artists. Occasionally, people have also appeared among the union's members about the merits of whose work little can be said, whereas something can be said about their at times brazen arrogance, "penetrating" force and remarkable energy in arranging their own affairs. I think that the congress delegates will give a worthy evaluation of this.

The abundance of "dull" works of art at exhibitions "blurs" the overall picture of our achievements. At some openings, the viewer at times has to waste a great deal of time and effort to find the genuine gems of art. Here, of course, much depends on the principles and exactingness and on the loftiness and objectivity of the criteria of our exhibition committees and purchasing commissions.

There is always a kind of competition between the works of art at exhibitions. And there has indeed never been a time when there have not been a few masterpieces among the exhibits. This is natural. However, it can hardly be called normal when the artists themselves, their arrogance, connections, "vending trays" and "hands" compete. I remember that at the beginning of my generation, the competitive spirit was different, and you felt genuine pride when your work of art was given the honor of being shown at the same exhibition as canvases by A. Plastov, Yu. Pimenov, P. Korin and graphic artist V. Favorskiy . . . . We should restore true competitive spirit to our activity.

It is here that another question arises, which will no doubt alarm the readers: what about "informal" associations and amateur artists, at least those who exhibit their work in Bittsevskiy Park in the capital? Television has propagandised their activity to such an extent that we cannot even dream of such publicity for our artist salons!

Of course, people of the older generation remember the post-war "second-hand markets" where it was possible to buy painted rugs with swans and cypresses for 25 rubles. At that time, there were not enough carpets and no paintings. Now, of course, the times are different. However, as we have ascertained, the same kind of phenomenon is taking place now. Admittedly, people have more money, are more educated and more intelligent as a whole. The demand is different--the market has changed its sign and has become a little like Montmartre. Fillets and frames are a little more expensive. Subjects are a little more varied. Styles are for all tastes, from naturalism and primitive in imitation of something folksy to rehashes of modernism or copies from discoveries by our very own artists.

"How can we fight this, and is it even necessary?" some ask. "Won't we just return once again to administrative measures?" They will definitely be of little use. Deep thought is required by all of us on this matter, including the union. I think that our very task as artists is to become even closer to the people and help them meet their aesthetic needs. Our exhibitions must really be sale exhibitions so that outstanding masters will take greater part in the artists' lotteries. And even in our salons, which in general no one knows anything about, you do not step up to some paintings because of their

price. Nevertheless, if the matter is approached economically, and competitiveness, competition and, of course, cost accounting are also put into practice here, viewers will gladly buy the works of current artists and may even place orders for original portraits. For at one time this was a tradition in our country: magnificent family portraits of relatives and loved ones were kept right in our homes. Could even this tradition be restored?

The union plays a significant role in the organization of national galleries and museums. There are already 83 of them in the Russian Federal Republic. Sometimes it is said that this undertaking has nothing to do with fine art. I would not evaluate it so scornfully. An artist gives from his heart, his works of art reach the farthest corners of the Russian Federal Republic. Recently, for example, we opened an art gallery in Khanty-Mansiysk. When has there been anything like this? And galleries in Salekhard and Tes village in Krasnoyarskiy Kray? . . . It is impossible to disregard the benefit that this instructive and civic activity of ours has. I think that the RSFSR Artists' Union will continue to consider this one of our most important tasks.

The RSFSR Artists' Union is indeed faced with an immense scope of activities. We constantly sense the party's attention and concern for us. This is indicated by the well-known CPSU Central Committee resolution, which is aimed at the continued development of Soviet fine arts. It gives us new rights, but also obliges us to a large extent to work more intensively, more creatively and, I would say, innovatively. This means that we should greatly step up all that we do and reorganize all our work more actively, with more initiative and faster. It is very important that we will soon be opening two more art institutes, one in Moscow and the other in Krasnoyarsk. This is also important because professional art is presently undergoing a difficult period and is being attacked from various sides. People constantly want us to turn toward an abstract view of the world and incorporate Western art traditions which are foreign to us and in which neither our national nor social traits are inherent. Therefore, realism today needs to have its school strengthened. We have something to be proud of, we really have a rich experience, which should be passed on the younger generations.

If we take a look at tomorrow, we should in fact be talking about the completely new social status of the Soviet artist. Now, he is not only a person conjuring something up at the easel, engaged in exhibition or instructive activity and filling orders. He is called to the expanses of life. He should be a direct participant and builder of the new life, both in the direct and figurative sense. He is responsible for the aesthetic character of cities, houses, schools, clubs and the entire spiritual environment of human life. He is responsible for how aesthetically pleasing everything is. At present, questions of synthesizing fine arts and, for example, industrial, housing, social and cultural construction and architecture have become some of the practical and even primary problems which society and, of course, the Artists' Union must resolve in the very near future.

In other words, we have a program in which the principal foundations of a qualitative reorganization of our creative union have been laid: prospects for its development are indeed on a national scale. And I hope that questions concerning the decisive renewal of our lives will be the focus of every

delegate at the 6th RSFSR Artists' Congress. This is the very thing by which the civic duty, political maturity and professional responsibility of each of us is verified!

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## NEW COMPETITION FOR VICTORY MEMORIAL ANNOUNCED

PM281303 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 87 First Edition p 6

[G. Alekseyev report: "Victory Memorial: New Competition, New Site... Press Conference at USSR Ministry of Culture"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has supported the proposal by the Moscow party gorkom and the USSR Ministry of Culture to announce a new all-union open competition for the Victory Memorial in Moscow and its siting and to complete the formation of the Victory Park. Moscow Gorispolkom and the Ministry of Culture are instructed to comprehensively discuss and resolve the question of the functional purpose of the buildings being constructed on Poklonnaya Hill.

V. Zakharov, USSR Minister of Culture, reported this at a 21 July press conference.

"An all-union open competition for the best conceptual design for the main monument of the Victory Memorial was held from 1 September through 30 December last year," the minister recalled. "The competition attracted 384 designs -- professional and amateur -- and, in addition, more than 500 letters setting forth various ideas for the monument. Some 145,000 people visited the exhibition, and 37,925 opinions were given. The view of the majority was that not one of the designs worthily reflected the subject. The jury headed by B. Ugarov, president of the USSR Academy of Arts, which included representatives of the public along with specialists, arrived at the conclusion that the competition had not brought to light any design solutions that could be made the basis of plans for the memorial..."

The failure of the competition is largely accounted for by the fact that its terms included the point that the monument had to be tied in with the museum complex under construction and with the work carried out earlier, that is, by the original lack of an organic link between the chief components of the future memorial. Therefore, as was explained to journalists by B. Ugarov, Moscow Gorispolkom Chairman V. Saykin, and others who participated in the press conference, the new competition will, instead, be purely professional with tough terms for the acceptance of competition entries. Its organization is entrusted to Moscow CPSU Gorkom, the State Committee for Civil Construction and Architecture, the USSR Ministry of Culture, the USSR Academy of Arts, and the USSR Union of Artists and Union of Architects.



Sluggish preparations -- accounted for by the total uncertainty -- for the possible mothballing of the structures already erected are now being made on Poklonnaya Hill, where work has, on the whole, been suspended. However, mothballing is not the best way out. To simplify the figures somewhat, it would cost approximately R8-10 million, and approximately R5 million more for demothballing. In addition to these figures, others were also reported at the press conference. Thus, just over R190 million has been collected in voluntary donations for the memorial's construction. The estimated cost of all construction on Poklonnaya Hill is R184 million. So far R 45.3 million has been invested, approximately one-half of this being city funds. The Ministry of Culture has in turn spent more than R500,000 in royalties.

The program of the new competition, designed to last 1 year, its terms, and the composition of the jury will be published in the press in 1 month's time.

"How do you see the future of the Poklonnaya Hill territory?"

"We believe that it could be used as a Victory Park with a Museum of the Great Patriotic War," the minister replied. "This is our joint proposal with the party gorkom and Moscow Gorispolkom. It still has to be discussed, and only then will the final decision be made..."

The participants in the meeting with journalists voiced the hope that the new competition will be welcomed by Muscovites and all our compatriots.

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## ROOT OF DRUG PROBLEM SEEN IN POOR CHILD DEVELOPMENT PRACTICES

Kiev LITERATURNIA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian No 22, 28 May 87 p 8

[Interview with A.P. Artemchuk, director, No 2 UkSSR Narcological Psychotherapeutic Center, Scientific Research Institute of Neurology and Psychiatry imeni Academician I.P. Protopopov, by Mikola Pastushenko: "Anatomy of an Illness"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [A.P. Artemchuk] The advance of civilization has always been accompanied by some serious problems. One of the most serious is that of substance abuse. This problem covers not only narcotics, but also smoking, alcoholism, in addition to various other substances. This problem has now become quite serious among young people.

Youth is the most unstable component of society in physiological and psychological terms. It is for these reasons that addiction to tobacco, alcohol, and narcotics arises most often between the ages of 14 and 25. However, as has become obvious, there is not a single service component that is capable of providing the type of highly qualified medical assistance needed by those suffering from substance and drug addiction. The psychiatric services are preoccupied with the treatment, isolation, and rehabilitation of mental patients. Substance abuse services are concerned with the treatment of alcoholics. We do not have enough specialists that are familiar with all aspects of substance abuse. In addition, we lack many of the drugs that are used in the treatment of such conditions. Finally, we have to admit that we lack a system for identifying individuals engaging in substance abuse and in enlisting them in treatment programs. Success lies in forcing substance abusers to undergo treatment since they fail to undergo treatment on a voluntary basis, unlike the situation with some alcoholics. These facts point to the need for complete reorganization of our preventive and treatment programs, to make them accessible to every family and every collective. There is need to increase the prestige of the substance abuse services and convince the population of their effectiveness, as well as to increase responsibility of parents and directors of child centers for the health and welfare of children and adolescents.

My responsibilities often take me to the Ukrainian towns and villages where I have a firsthand opportunity to become acquainted with the quality of medical care given to substance abusers, alcoholics, and other sick people. At some schools and technical educational institutions a significant portion of the

adolescents require immediate attention from qualified physicians, psychologists and educators. Having succumbed themselves, they now contribute to the epidemic spread of substance abuse and crime.

In Nikolayev, for example, I met a 14- or 15-year-old female student that moved there with her parents from another city. In her first day at school she was forced to take drugs in the bathroom by a group of boys and girls against her will. She begged for the second dose on her own. She was now willing to do anything, no matter how degrading, to get her fix. Adolescents become addicted after one or two uses. Such individuals become totally dependent on the drug, behaving virtually as its slaves. Lying and stealing become daily routines as a means of getting the drug, and in cases of withdrawal even murder is possible.

Here is a vivid description provided by a young woman waking up in a state of withdrawal: If I can't get drugs, life loses its meaning for me, and my only thoughts are about getting my next fix. The world seems empty and gray. I develop severe headaches, my jaw muscles ache, as well as the muscles around my waist. I am in severe pain and feel as if my insides are crawling with worms. I am ready to do anything to alleviate this torture and obtain narcotics."

Drug addicts generally start with only one chemical agent, but quickly change to a more powerful drug or a more concentrated form, or even to a combination of drugs. The dosages also increase. I met a school-age girl in Kharkov that spent 30-40 rubles per day on drugs, the money being obtained by fraud, theft, and prostitution.

[Question] The picture you have painted is indeed terrible. But, in your view, what causes young people to become addicts and what is the solution to this problem?

[Answer] I often ponder the question as to why drug addiction has afflicted our young people. The words of one noted educator come to mind: Provide young people with something constructive and intellectual to do in their free time and problems such as alcoholism, substance abuse, and crime will disappear. I feel that if we provide the opportunity for the young people to find themselves and assert their identity, these problems will resolve themselves. Much is being said about taking this approach today. However, to date not enough is being done and the young are largely left to their own devices without due care for their psychological and physical development.

Educators are available everywhere. In Kharkov in the 6th class of School No 73, the so-called sports class, children are divided into "promising" and "non-promising" categories and trained accordingly. The fact that some children are "non-promising" is of little interest. Again in Kharkov at Kindergarten No 246 a four-year-old, when asked what he did all day, responds, "I ate and I slept." Where are the music classes, dancing, walks, drawing and language skills? For an entire year they were without a teacher. What will become of such children?

I have visited many regular and trade schools where I asked the students and teachers about extracurricular activities. The paperwork indicates extensive programs, while in fact there are none! Furthermore, the responses also suggest that less than one percent of the students are regularly engaged in sports. A recent study conducted by psychologists and electrophysiologists in our laboratory on adolescents revealed a frightening picture. The electrocardiogram recordings of the frontal lobes yielded wave patterns with very low amplitudes, indicating inadequately developed frontal lobes.

[Question] What leads to the development of frontal lobes?

[Answer] Ancient wisdom tells us that everyday challenges of life that force us to persist and overcome difficulties, delineate a course of action, and display fortitude and willpower are factors that lead to the development of a strong, survivalist personality. These are factors that underlie the formation and development of the frontal lobes. Obviously, substance abusers and alcoholics lack the foundation for the development of a strong personality.

Medical, legal, and educational specialists are agreed that subsequent addiction to alcohol and drugs has its roots in early childhood. Childhood is an important developmental stage from both social and biological viewpoints, lasting some 14-15 years. Every developmental stage has its unique features, and childhood is no exception.

When one observes a two-year-old listening to music one can see the attentiveness that the child experiences and the motions that follow the rhythm. It is precisely at this stage that brain formations responsible for musical qualities develop in the child. If such development is encouraged, a life-long love for music is generated and a desire to excel in it. Unfortunately, kindergartens and schools all too often fail to provide such stimuli and encouragement. Frequently, the conditions are not favorable for such programs, or there is simply no desire for them, and the psychophysiological aspects of that age group are neglected. At home the parents often lack the time to develop such talents. The product is an indifferent child that seeks "mind-opening" experiences, is incapable of love, and remains emotionally stultified.

Every individual should know how to satisfy his or her own emotional needs. Those that don't know attempt to substitute alcohol and drugs.

A few days ago we saw a 19-year-old boy at our hospital that had been pulled away, in the full sense of the word, from alcohol. A few days later he was seen again in an inebriated state. It seems that he acquired an electric kettle and was boiling kefir. All of the paraphernalia was taken away from him, but within a few days he was observed in the same condition. It seems that he wandered in the wards among patients asking for soporifics and tranquilizers, which he took by the handful. We put a stop to this, and again found him dazed. This time he was inhaling solvents.

[Question] Is it correct to assume that such individuals regard sobriety as a form of punishment?



[Answer] Absolutely. All of their life they follow the path of least resistance. Having grown up, they realize their emptiness and lack of accomplishment but don't know what to do about it.

Many of the problems are due to neglect that can be traced back to early childhood. It is at that stage that drug addiction, alcoholism, and sociopathic behavior have their beginnings. These are problems of child rearing and personality disorders since the child is but a mirror that reflects its surroundings. In that sense a child may be regarded as a magnifying lens that exaggerates society's ills. We can now appreciate how important child rearing is and the factors that affect this entire process. We must depart from mass-production methods in child rearing and pay more attention to those responsible for rearing and the methods they employ. There is no such thing as an "average" child. Every child is a unique individual with characteristic personality traits and a thought process that has to be encouraged and stimulated. Alcoholism and drug addiction are primarily social problems that transform into medical diseases at a later, subsequent stage. Individuals charged with care of children and adolescents would do well to remember this basic fact

I wish to stress also that the present era is one of speed and rapid technological and scientific developments that place a great strain on intellectual activity. Together with urbanization these factors have a serious impact on human adaptability to the surrounding environment. Often our brain and intellectual capacity are overloaded with challenges. More often than not we do not know how to handle mental stress, negative emotions, and a myriad other complications arising from the distance that we have placed between ourselves and nature as we settled into a sedentary life style. All too often drugs, alcohol, tranquilizers, and other substances are used to help us cope. Some rely on stimulants. These are cheap and easy solutions that lead to alcoholism and drug addiction.

[Question] I have frequently seen the corridors of the Narcological Psychotherapeutic Center headed by you filled with hundreds of patients. Are there drug addicts among them and how do you treat them?

[Answer] Unfortunately, even many of my professional colleagues have no idea what it means to treat by the method developed by Oleksandr Romanovich Covzhenko, honored physician of the UkSSR. They think that you gather a group of 30-50 patients, give a lecture for 2-3 hours, and then let them go.

In fact, the entire therapeutic process is much more complex. Prior to a therapeutic session I prepare the patients, a step that involves psychological, physiological, clinical and other studies. On first meeting the patient I attempt to break down his inertia and resistance to therapy and interest him in getting well and changing his life style. This also involves showing them how this can be accomplished.

The philosophy of drug addicts is one of fatalism, in which they have no control over their fate. They feel there is no need to prove themselves, and that the sense of being rests on satisfying their need for alcohol or some drug. The wife of an alcoholic or a drug addict has to assume the leadership role in

the family as the husband gradually withdraws from all responsibilities. Eventually, she comes to feel that she and the children are better off when the husband isn't around, while the alcoholic or drug-addicted husband loses all vestiges of the human characteristics that led him to start a family in the first place.

My responsibility in such situations is to reconstitute the family unit and to restore each player to his or her proper role. This involves working with the wife, children, parents, and relatives.

Finally, on the day preceding the last therapeutic session the patients meet with a medical consultation commission, which tries to ascertain whether they have met the requirements of the program.

The three-hour session represents a very stressful event for the physician and the 50 patients. The induced hypnotic phases are accompanied by a complex process of recovery designed to free the patient from addiction to alcohol or drugs.

Every individual who wants to recover should realize that there are no hopeless cases, and that they are responsible for their own health and happiness. The medical profession will do what it can to help such patients.

12172/12859

CSO: 1811/022

PRAVDA CALLS FOR IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN POLICE, PUBLIC

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jun 87 p 1

[Unattributed article: "The Precinct Inspector. To Strengthen the Link Between Militia Workers and the Community"]

[Text] The residents of the settlement imeni Chkalova in Kushkinskiy Rayon of Mary Oblast speak of the precinct inspector, Militia Captain Baly Annadurdyev, as a man of great courage and high principle. For over 25 years he has been doing this responsible and difficult job. After all, the precinct inspector is the first to come up against human misfortune and violations of the law, the first to take decisions upon which not only the strengthening of law and order but also people's wellbeing, disposition, and health sometimes depend. So it was on the day when Annadurdyev came up against an armed criminal in his precinct. Understanding that every minute's delay puts many people's lives into jeopardy, he went in alone, not waiting for help to arrive, and, despite the knife wounds he received, managed to disarm and arrest the bandit.

Precinct inspectors occupy a special place in the militia service. Interacting directly with the residents of urban microrayons and rural population centers and performing virtually all the militia functions in their precinct, they are the ones whose concern it is to see that we live and work undisturbed and who basically channel the the party's demands for the reinforcement of law and order and socialist legality to the masses.

Success in the work done by precinct inspectors largely depends upon their close cooperation with the public. An active and enterprising inspector is known in the precinct not only by sight but by first name and patronymic, is approached at any time for help and advice, and is the confidant of those in trouble. And how many young boys and girls have found their way thanks to the fact that their precinct inspector was at their side, helped them by word and deed, and did not let them stumble at that difficult age when it is still not all that easy to distinguish good from bad.

The large detachment of precinct inspectors is performing its professional and civic duty honorably. Every year they participate in bringing to light over 40 percent of complex and, speaking in the juridical idiom, surreptitious crimes. In the past year alone, precinct inspectors reviewed over 3.3 million

citizen complaints and declarations on various issues of law enforcement. Upon them falls the main burden of the struggle against hooliganism, drunkenness, drug addiction, parasitism, unearned income, and other antisocial manifestations.

But one cannot fail to note also that in many towns and villages in recent years the working style of precinct inspectors has changed, and not for the better. "Fewer and fewer Aniskins," G. Chelnokova, a Muscovite, writes in her letter to the editors, "more and more bureaucrats and pen-pushers who screen themselves off from people with a multitude of regulations."

Indeed, it is pointless trying to hide that the corrosion of imperturbability and complacency, of stagnation and formalism has been known to impact forcibly upon the internal affairs organs. This has also had a negative affect upon the activity of precinct inspectors. There was a time when not only the oblast administrations and the urban rayon organs of internal affairs but even the system of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs lacked subdivisions to organize the work of militia precinct inspectors. As a result, they came to be constantly diverted from precinct work to extra duties and operations groups and were made to function as escorts and even as assistants to the extra-departmental guard.

It must also be mentioned that the conditions of daily life for precinct inspectors have worsened. At the present time, almost one in four has no accommodation, no office, and no telephone link, and 60 percent of them do not reside in the precincts they serve. Inspectors in rural areas, where each is assigned dozens of population centers, find themselves in a difficult situation. They are, as a rule, located many kilometers from each other and have only motorcycles whose use is limited by weather conditions and the state of the roads.

Cadre turnover is prompted by these and other causes. In the last five years alone, two-thirds of the precinct instructor staff has been replaced, and one in five stays stays in the job for less than a year. Only about 10 percent have higher specialized education, and 41 percent have secondary specialized education. Moreover, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs system has long been without educational institutions to train cadres in this specialization. This, then, is why there are fewer and fewer Aniskins and why the inspectors are ill-acquainted with people in their precincts and do woefully little preventive work.

The April wind of renewal also brought some desired changes to the internal affairs organs. In particular, within the system of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs' Maintenance of Public Order MA, there has been created for the first time an administration to organize the work of militia precinct inspectors and their interaction with the community. Early this year, the management organs took measures to improve the work of militia precinct inspectors and to better their financial security.

In brief, quite a bit is being done today to enhance in real terms the efficiency of this important service of the internal affairs organs. Communists are called upon to set the tone in this work. They should become



an example of a superlative sense of responsibility for the job in hand. And this job is a special one. It even leaves its mark upon precinct inspector recertification. This takes place not behind closed doors, not within a narrow departmental compass, as used to be the case, but with the involvement of the broader community. In Moscow, Kurgan, Kamchatka, and other oblasts, precinct inspectors are evaluated by labor collectives, the residents of microrayons, soviet deputies, and representatives of social organizations. Their opinion is considered when many precinct inspectors get their promotions. But there are examples of a different kind: some inspectors are dismissed from internal affairs organs, on the community's request, because of their low professional standards, various abuses, and officiousness in complaint review.

Party organizations should proffer a great deal of assistance in the establishment of direct links with the public and with labor collectives. Great opportunities to seek out new forms and methods of work are to be found here. The needs and suggestions of precinct inspectors must not go unheeded. The ongoing reinforcement of law and order largely depends upon interaction between the community and militia workers.

Precinct inspectors will also have much to do in improving their own work. In particular, there is need for a more active campaign against what is called domestic drunkenness, which has moved from public places into the confines of apartments, and against the illicit distillation of spirits, which has also begun to spread in the towns. Youth is the inspectors' special concern. It is essential to protect the rising generation from pernicious influences, drunkenness, and drug addiction. It is, however, precisely in those areas of work that the efficiency of the precinct inspectors' actions is still inadequate.

A time of reconstruction demands from militia workers the ability to work in a new way. Only by hard work, incorruptibility, and honesty, by an unconditional adherence to legality, can one earn the people's trust and support.

13165

CSO: 1800/673

# KOMSOMOL CONSIDERS RESTRUCTURING YOUTH PROPAGANDA WORK

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jul 87 p 1

[Article under the rubric "Invitation to a Discussion": "Political Education: A Time for Quests and Renewal"; first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] In July a session of the Komsomol Central Committee Buro posed the question of organizing the political education of and conveying of information to youths in light of the positions taken by the 27th CPSU Congress and the decisions adopted by the 20th Komsomol Congress. The Komsomol Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department prepared proposals restructuring the system of Komsomol political education, proposals which are being brought up for a broad-based discussion.

The inclusion of the younger generation in the common task of restructuring all spheres of social life and the struggle to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development have evoked a great deal of interest among young fellows and girls in the theoretical conceptions of what is taking place, a striving to take an active part in political deeds. This requires a substantial improvement in the activity of Komsomol organizations regarding the formation of political culture among youth, the capacity to perceive and evaluate phenomena and events from a class-type Marxist-Leninist point of view. However, many existing forms and methods of ideological-educational work, political education and the conveying of information to young people cannot fully solve this problem by virtue of their own detachment from life, excessive regulations, incommensurateness with the requirements, the level of education, and the nature of the productive and social activity of young fellows and girls. In classes there is still a great deal of formalism, empty verbiage, and didacticism; there is a lack of open discussion and a motivated exchange of opinions. Young people often do not see any real benefit from education; many political-mass events are attended solely out of obedience to Komsomol discipline. All this requires a radical change in the approaches being taken to the political education of youths.

Restructuring the Komsomol's activity in light of the positions taken at the 27th CPSU Congress and the decisions made by the 20th Komsomol Congress has created favorable possibilities for profound and basic change in setting up agitational-propaganda work and in overcoming the existing shortcomings.

Komsomol political education and the conveying of information as an indissoluble link in the country's evolving system of continuous education must facilitate the ideological-theoretical growth of young people, stimulate young fellows and girls to engage in continuous political self-education, along with study of the Marxist-Leninist classics and the documents of the CPSU, equip them with the capacity to think and act in a mature way, and clearly picture their own place and role in transforming the socialist society.

The Komsomol Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department considers that at the present time we must substantially renew the contents of this work, raise its ideological-theoretical level, broadly introduce up-to-date methods of education and conveying information, strengthen the link with the life of a specific collective and with a specific young person.

In our propaganda-information work we must get rid of abstract thinking, consider real processes in the world, our society, and young people's milieu, in all their multifaceted diversity, contradictory qualities, and constant movement. The fundamentals of the contents of political education of and conveying information to youths consist of the theoretical and policy problems set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress, the ideological heritage of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V.I. Lenin. It is particularly important to instill in young people a taste for mastering the Leninist methodology of studying social phenomena, forming an understanding that it is on the basis of Leninist ideas, as enriched and developed by the CPSU, that the present-day changes are being carried out in this country.

In all the forms of political education of and conveying information to youths, we must intensify our attention to the problems of the Leninist Komsomol's activity--the political organization of Soviet youth, the party's reserve and assistant; we must also explain the important role played by the 20th Congress in the Komsomol's life and history, as well as the program which it set forth in order to restructure and renew the Komsomol.

Taking into account the fact that the fundamentals of political and economic knowledge are studied by young fellows and girls in secondary schools, vocational-technical schools, higher and secondary specialized educational institutions, it is recommended that Komsomol political education concentrate on the urgent problems of improving the socialist society, the party's domestic and foreign policy, matters of developing the economy, science, culture, and art. It is assumed that the basic courses, topics for study, and discussion in the various forms of political education for young people will be recommended annually and be provided with the necessary curricula and programs.

In the principal form of political education and conveying information to youths, practical experience and life nowadays have set forth POLITICAL CLUBS. They can be set up at enterprises, in organizations, institutions, educational institutions, as well as at places of residence, dormitories, and at cultural institutions.

For youths exhibiting an interest in profoundly studying urgent theoretical problems the Komsomol committees can create POLITICAL SCHOOLS AND PROBLEM SEMINARS. For young laborers, taking into consideration their theoretical and general educational training and the nature of their production activity, it is possible to organize EDUCATION BY INDIVIDUALIZED STUDY PLANS. In order to bring this about, lecture bureaus and consultation centers are being set up under the administration of gorkoms, raykoms, and Komsomol committees.

THE LECTURE AND AGITATIONAL-MASS WORK of the Komsomol committees must be subordinated to the tasks of political education and conveying information. It ought to be conducted in a coordinated way with the activities of the political clubs, based on comprehensive plans.

Komsomol committees can conduct political education of and convey information to youths not only at the Komsomol members' places of employment and education but also at the places of residence, as well as the centers of young people's amateur associations by interests in the production sphere and during their leisure time.

In case of necessity, and upon reaching agreement with the party committees, Komsomol members and young laborers should be included within the system of party education and production-economic institutions.

The Komsomol committees determine independently the forms of political education, youth indoctrination, and discussion and study topics based on the voluntary approach with consideration of the interests and inquiries of young people, consideration of managerial and training tasks and of established practice.

The Komsomol committees dealing with political education and conveying information to youth are simply obliged decisively to abandon didacticism and scholasticism, as well as the mindless repetition and rote learning of copy-book maxims and general platitudes. THE PRINCIPAL METHOD OF FORMING POLITICAL POSITIONS AND CIVIC-MINDEDNESS IS DISCUSSION, an open dialogue, comparing various points of view, and pursuing a collective search for answers. We should not fear the critical nature of youth, possible errors in their evaluations of events and phenomena, but instead we should present well-argued, popular explanations of problems involving world outlook and assist them to independently analyze the complex problems of the present time.

We must persistently and consistently introduce political self-education, considering it as an important method for profoundly and creatively mastering Marxist-Leninist theory.

We must develop among young people the habits and skills of economic activity, prepare them for competent participation in socialist self-government and the conduct of ideological-educational work in labor collectives, and we must help to solve practical problems. In each class we need to analyze specific situations, carry out practical assignments, business-type games, and the search for reserves.



Komsomol organizations should help young fellows and girls to work out cultural standards for conducting political discussions. In order to do this, we must extensively practice the selection and discussion with young people's audiences of items published by the central and local press, radio and television broadcasts, as well as special video programs dealing with acute political, economic, social, and educational problems.

We need to take into account, analyze, and achieve the introduction of suggestions from listeners, examine them on an equal basis with the notes and statements made by Komsomol members at meetings, in letters, and in the press.

It ought to become the norm for secretaries and staff members of the Komsomol committee apparatus to speak out regularly at meetings, take part in political information sessions, interviews, reply to questions from young people, and to regularly share their experiences and thoughts with propagandists and the directions of political clubs.

We must more extensively involve in propaganda and informational-political work those Komsomol members from among the young specialists who are desirous and capable of conducting it among young people. We ought to engage in conducting polls among young fellows and girls and study their opinion of the candidates being recommended for the positions of propagandists and political club directors.

In this connection, particular attention must be paid to training reserves and to work with beginning propagandists and club directors, as well as agitational-propaganda activists. We need to make more effective use for this purpose of the VUZ departments of social occupations and to set up appropriate branches at each VUZ. In conjunction with the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the Komsomol Central Committee Department of Propaganda and Agitation, as well as the Department of Student Youth, must develop prior to 1 January 1988 model educational programs for the FOP's [Departments of Social Occupations] in accordance with the basic methodology for political-mass work among young people. The forms of providing incentives to political club directors and propagandists must become more diverse; they must be marked by awards from the Komsomol Central Committee and other Komsomol committees. These questions must be posed more actively to economic managers and public organizations.

We must improve the methodological, scientific provision of political education and the conveying of information. It is planned to attract scientific, journalists, a wide range of Komsomol staff members and activists to participate in this work. It has been proposed to publish special pages in the young people's newspapers, along with selections of materials of aid to political clubs.

Together with the Komsomol Central Committee "Molodaya gvardiya" Publishing and Printing Association, the Komsomol Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, the VKSh [Higher Komsomol School], and other Komsomol committees are taking upon themselves the task of furnishing the political clubs, political schools, and seminars with programs, textbooks, methodological and visual aids, as well as reference-informational materials.

The following will also be published: sets of aids including textbooks, anthologies, collections of exercises and problems, selected sets of posters, filmstrips, information, press releases, and collections entitled "Questions and Answers."

There will be an enhancement of the role played by the methods and experiments laboratory for Komsomol political education at the VKSh under the jurisdiction of the Komsomol Central Committee in the educational-methods provision of a political education to young fellows and girls. Restructuring the style and methods of directing the political education of an conveying of information to youths presupposes the optimal combination of centralized administration and an expansion of the rights and independence of the primary Komsomol organizations, an increase of their responsibility for the quality and results of the education, a combination of the improvement of reciprocal activity in these matters with economic and trade-union organizations as well as other public organizations.

Personal responsibility for the ideological-theoretical training of young fellows and girls must be borne by the first secretaries of the Komsomol committees. They, along with all Komsomol staff employees and activists, are called upon to show a personal example in mastering Marxist-Leninist theory and in the struggle to implement communist ideals and party policy. The propaganda activity, the capacity of Komsomol staff members and activists to convincingly and with good arguments explain theory and policy to young people and to rebuff bourgeois propaganda--comprise an inalienable part of a professional level and businesslike qualities.

It has been proposed to establish a sector for politically educating and providing information to youths at centers of the Union Republic Komsomol Central Committee lecture groups, plus those of the Komsomol kraykoms, obkoms, the Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev gorkoms. It is likewise planned to prepare proposals with regard to setting up a Central Video Lecture Buro and its subdivisions in the localities.

DEAR READER!

--WHAT PROBLEMS, IN YOUR OPINION, SHOULD BE GIVEN TOP PRIORITY FOR SOLUTION IN ORGANIZING THE POLITICAL EDUCATION OF YOUNG FELLOWS AND GIRLS?

--ON WHAT PRINCIPLE CAN WE BETTER FORM POLITICAL CLUBS, POLITICAL SCHOOLS, AND PROBLEM SEMINARS?

--HOW CAN WE ORGANIZE POLITICAL SELF-EDUCATION BETTER?

--WHAT FORMS AND METHODS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION ARE MOST NEEDED TODAY?

THE EDITORS OF THE NEWSPAPER "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA" AND THE KOMSOMOL CENTRAL COMMITTEE PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION DEPARTMENT WILL ACKNOWLEDGE REPLIES TO THESE AND OTHER QUESTIONS WHICH WOULD ASSIST IN RESTRUCTURING THE POLITICAL EDUCATION OF YOUTHS.

Letters should be sent to the following address: Propaganda and Agitation Department, Komsomol Central Committee, House 3/13, B. Khmel'nitskiy Street, Moscow Center, 103982. Please write "Political Education" on the envelope.

Special telephones have been installed in the Propaganda Agitation Department. They may be called every day from 1000 to 1500 hours to communicate one's opinion on organizing the political education of and conveying of information to young people. These numbers are 206-86-45, 206-80-56, and 374-75-94.

2384

CSO: 1800/738

YOUTH PAPER CALLS FOR OPENNESS IN DISCUSSING ECOLOGY

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 87 p 2

[Article by S. Vishnevskaya, PRAVDA special correspondent: "A Chimney Has Blocked the Sky"]

[Text] The bus rolls on and the fierce-looking concrete fence seems to have no end. Beyond it, as far as the eye can see, the metal acrobatics of chimneys, pipes and smoke-stacks looks like a gigantic musical monster that nobody knows how to play anymore. Only some unknown force extracts whistling steam or noiseless whitish smoke from its invisible orifices, hurtling something along its metallic labyrinth, gathering puffs of smoke absentmindedly, turning them over and over and pushing them upwards through the huge "heavenly" smoke-stacks that block the entire sky.... If the wind is from the south, the "music" from the Novo-Yaroslavl Oil Refinery (NPZ) can be "heard" in Yaroslavl; if it is from the north--in Dubki.

"It is not difficult to find the village of Dubki," a letter to the editor written in a student hand begins. "If you are coming from Moscow along the highway to Yaroslavl...." And there it is beyond the bus window, the Novo-Yaroslavl Oil Refinery, which (again quoting from the letter), "together with its neighbor the Technical Carbon Plant (YaZTU), poisons all the surrounding population and all living creatures."

If you tried to count all the smoke-stacks, you would lose track.... "Regularly, especially in summer," the letter continues, "these two plants discharge soot into the air along with some kind of foul-smelling gas which has a temporary suffocating effect. Between 9 and 10 January the YaZTU discharged such a large quantity of soot that it covered the entire region...."

The night one of the filter hoses in the pneumatic transportation system on the sixth production line broke, the outside temperature was -40 C. The operator, who never once poked his nose out of the operations room, had no idea that the plant's entire production was literally flying out the chimney and settling over the whole village--landing on 150,000 square meters of greenhouse glass and penetrating through closed windows into the houses of sleeping people. The following morning the villagers could not touch anything



because everything was covered with greasy soot. About four tons--one kilogram per inhabitant--had fallen on the village.

Accidents such as this are not rare in this area. A middle-aged woman adjusts her scarf and looks curiously at me: "What can I do? We close the windows and live...." An old woman in over-sized rubber boots says in a hurry: "How do we live? They let gas into our windows and my old man breaks out in red spots. They are testing us, he says, to see if we will last...." A girl on a bike stops and thinks for moment. "Of course, this all very unpleasant. I think that someone will do something to stop it, but I personally can't imagine that I can do anything about it...." A busy-looking lady with a tightly packed bag does not even wait for the end of the question. "I don't know anything. I haven't seen anything. This has nothing to do with us." And she marches off with her bag, proud that she didn't "crack." Well, well....

Public opinion? It must have "had an accident" too. It seems all the soot and sulfurous mixtures Dubki residents have been "treated to" are not sufficient to make them stop and think, to shake off the "ecological stupefaction," of which we encounter countless examples in our lives.... We hold a child by the hand while standing right next to the exhaust pipe of an idling car, all the while chattering mindlessly and neglecting to move at least a few meters to the side.... We turn the last remaining city groves and public gardens into garages and parking lots. We build houses over ancient parks.

We are passive and indifferent mainly because there is no true ecological openness here yet. For many years now it has been hammered into us that the Soviet patient is the healthiest patient of all, and that if only people knew what the specialists know then both the environment and our health would be in much better condition. Look at Dubki. One can live well there, earn a reasonable income from the vegetable garden and make use of the modern sports complex and swimming pool, but still not be able to do anything about the fact that children here are between four and six times likely to suffer from bronchitis, asthma and allergies than normal. Every family is nursing a sick child, but hardly anyone in the village sees the picture as a whole, and almost no-one knows that each year in Yaroslavl, which is also the administrative center for Dubki, sick leaves and medical expenses cost the national economy 55 million rubles.

This was the main conclusion of a discussion I had with Sergey Nikolayevich Semenov, head of the district sanitary and epidemiological station. A bearded man with a power physique, he has been waging an uneven struggle with the YaZTU and the fire-breathing, nature-devouring Novo-Yaroslavl Oil Refinery for many years now.

The Yaroslavl television station has just begun airing the first installments of the series "We and Nature." Its narrator, the enthusiastic doctor Sergey Anatolevich Milyuk, appealed to his fellow citizens to work together to improve the environment. He received a lot of praise and verbal support, but nobody said anything concrete or offered his or her participation....

I ring the door-bell of the apartment where the boy who wrote the letter to the newspaper lives. His name is Vitaliy Loginov and he is an eighth-grade student.

"Why did I write to the paper? I go to bed at night and can't sleep because I keep thinking about what is happening here in Dubki.... I lie with my eyes closed, breathing all this in, thinking and thinking.... That night I got up at eleven thirty. My parents had already gone to sleep. I turned on the light and wrote the letter.... The following morning I decided to send it to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Something has to be done! Every year we donate money at school the water safety campaign, the Red Cross and the Voluntary Organization for the Support of the Army and the Air Force. Every year we do volunteer work planting trees around the school--new trees every year. The ones planted the previous year either die or get broken."

Smiling condescendingly, Sergey Yastrebov, second secretary of the komsomol obkom, tries to convince me that there are no environmental problems in the oblast, that the soot fertilizes the soil, and that everything is fine at Nekrasov's Karabikha. The spring sun is shining through the windows of his office. Meanwhile in the winter, the boy from Dubki is getting ready to enter the komsomol. Shocked by the black snow, he writes a letter to the editor: "Not far from us is the village of Karabikha, famous the world over. Nekrasov's country estate was known for the pure white color of its houses. Now their color is grey."

I am on my way to the celebrated country estate. The morning path smells splendidly of melting snow. Somewhere, in another century, a rooster is crowing.

The museum-estate has a grey, despondent and unhappy air about it. The courtyard is used as a passageway.... Locals use the ancient park as a shortcut to go about their business, paying no attention to Nekrasov, his memory or poetry in general. For them the memorial estate offers a convenient route to the farm, the cattleyard or the wine factory. There it is, the its leaning over museum property. Once in a while, for some reason labels float into the park. Old men like to sit in the shade of the ancient trees as if they were at home, with a bottle smuggled over the fence--trees that still remember Nekrasov.

The face of Karabikha is familiar to us all from television. We see it during celebrations commemorating Nekrasov. I went looking for it, but found something completely different. All three houses on the estate are in dire need of repair and restoration. The old stables are in utter disrepair and the old greenhouse is in ruins. The protected museum zone is being chopped off bit by bit by the local sovkhos. "We built here in the past," its director, Vladimir Alexeyevich Kabanov tells everyone, "and we will continue to build."

According to the experts ("bleeding hearts" they call them in the village), the wine factory should be removed from here. Only when the ancient park can grow over the groves, meadows and glades into a native forest (such as used to exist in Russian country estates) will Nekrasov's Karabikha have a chance to

survive in an environment that receives 200,000 tons of harmful wastes (mostly from the NPZ) not to mention soot from the YaZTU and wine factory, soot which blocks leaf stomata and prevents plants from breathing. The stagheads, similar to those at Yasnaya Polyana, have become a sad feature of both the Upper and Lower (also called the "Melancholy Park") Parks."

The head of the memorial museum's parks department, Yaroslav Viktorovich Volkov, showed me the results of a pathological study of the forests at the Karabikha country estate conducted by Lesproyekt. The air pollution results in disease and death of the most valuable tree species, those that still remember Nekrasov, and makes it impossible to restore the memorial landscapes.

The boy who lives three kilometers from Nekrasov's estate feels this and cannot go to sleep. He stands at the window staring at the two plants because he cannot understand why something happens which should never have happened. I asked him who, in his opinion, is to blame for the fact that black snow falls in Dubki? He answers that it is probably the fault of the engineer in charge of the filters.

"Why don't they put this plant underground?" he argues. "Its smoke can heat a boiler and the steam can operate a generator...."

"As early as 1985," I tell him, "the YaZTU promised to put a waste-heat boiler-room into operation which was supposed to burn up to 80 percent of current wastes. Is this similar to what you were just describing?"

"Yes it is, but these are only dreams and the black snow continues to fall...."

A local greenhouse operator attributed damages valued at half a million rubles to the latest accident and filed a claim against the plant. The YaZTU, as usual, refused to pay, but environmental activists, in particular Boris Borisovich Lenzhin, a leading specialist with the local branch of Rezinproyekt, evaluated the situation with the help of a computer which demonstrated without a doubt that nothing but the YaZTU could have discharged the soot. The management of the greenhouse operation referred the case to the public prosecutor and the plant's deputy director was replaced. Quietly, through the efforts of individual people, something has begun to move.... I listened with mixed feelings to Vladimir Borisovich Rusin, chief engineer at the YaZTU, whom I asked to comment on Vitaliy's letter.

"I take full responsibility for what happened," he says. "In this Five-Year Plan we are not aiming to expand capacities; we are only calling for improvements in environmental protection. We will be building two waste-heat boilers, filters and fans will be replaced, and the chemical water purification system will be reconstructed. We have learned some serious lessons from the latest accident. In the last few years we have been compelled to increase our capacity at the expense of environmental protection measures. This has driven us into a corner. The plant has been squeezed, and the savings we gained from not taking any environmental protection measures will cost us now a lot more since we have become self-supporting."

As for the Novo-Yaroslavl Oil Refinery, neither its chief engineer, Aleksander Zelinovich Milman, nor his deputy, Gennadi Vasilyevich Gritsuk, gave any comment....

When Vitaliy and his younger brother were still babies, their mother would pick up the sleeping children like kittens and carry them into the kitchen when gas would seep through the windows early in the morning. There she would cover the door and windows with blankets to protect them as much as she could. Now she cuts out Peskov's articles and sticks them on the kitchen wall. To encourage her son to read books, she reads them herself and discusses them with him. Now they are reading Astafev.... They are always discussing interesting topics at home and all the members of the family take in interest in one another. They get along well together. When Vitaliy grows up he will probably become like his father, blue-eyed and dependable.

The Loginov family were escorting me to my bus under an enormous ancient moon. Somewhere in the distance one could sense the presence of the retreating Nekrasov woods. On both sides of the road stretched moon-lit fields. At that moment, under that Yaroslavl moon, it struck me that in the end it is with people such as this, who consider themselves responsible for everything that goes on around them, that the salvation of all Russian nature and culture lies. As long as they exist, there is still hope for Karabikha, for Yasnaya Polyana, for the Baykal, and for that stream where you used to be able to see the bottom....

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'BANAL' OUTCOME OF RIGA DEMONSTRATION VIEWED

PM301531 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 26, 26-28 Jun 87 p 8

[Article by Valdis Krumins: "Riga: On A Sunday...When Radio Waves Were Dispelled, Or How A Sensation Never Occurred"]

[Text] For almost two weeks in June the radio [word indistinct] was stuffed with various word combinations orchestrated by the Western "voices": Riga, Liberty Monument, demonstrations.... In the West. It was hoped that the inhabitants of the capital of Soviet Latvia would "go to the streets." They not merely hoped--they provoked disorders. And they were looking forward, it seems (?), very eagerly to "clashes between the authorities and the people," the aim being to broadcast stories later on about "instability of the system," about "repressions," about "strife between nationalities."

The occasion chosen for the fuss on the air seemed to be appropriate: on June 14, 1941, several thousand active opponents of Soviet rule, now proclaimed in the West to be "victims of Latvia's Sovietization," were deported from Riga and sent to live across the Urals. According to Sovietologists' forecasts, no better pretext for the "display of massive discontent with the Soviets" could be invented. But their hopes were built on sand. Our correspondent tells how Sunday, June 14, 1987, passed in Riga.

On that day the finals of many-day bicycle races, which are immensely popular in the republic, took place in Latvia's capital. By tradition, the athletes crossed the finishing line at the Liberty Monument, in downtown Riga. Also there, various cultural activities were held, timed with the end of the competitions.

There was, however, a group of people who decided to use the festivities for their own purposes. For them, odd as it may be, the Liberty Monument serves as nothing more than a symbol of the power of the Lettish bourgeoisie overthrown by the people in the summer of 1940. So it goes against their grain that the square at the monument has long served as a venue for sports activities, that at the foot of this monument flowers were laid this year in memory of the fighters of the 1905 revolution and the Lettish Red Rifles.... And after the termination of sports and cultural activities, already in the late hours of Sunday, several hundred people, who had patiently waited for their "turn" in the neighbouring park, finally approached the monument and laid flowers at its pedestal, in the middle of which there was a winding ribbon with an inscription: "God, save Latvia."

The request is an obvious anachronism. Moreover, a political anachronism. These words are the first line from the anthem of bourgeois Latvia which receded into the past nearly half a century ago. And the emergence of such an appeal bears witness merely to the fact that Latvians regretting the loss of capitalist orders are to be found not only in the West.

For justice's sake it must be said that there are not many of them. That is why they try to turn "recruits" to their faith, profiting especially by the fact that the youth today knows very little what bourgeois Latvia looked like and why in the summer of 1940 the people decided in favour of socialism. Incidentally, at this point it is worth reproaching historians as well, who pay insufficient attention to the revolutionary period in the Lettish people's life and struggle against the bourgeois system.

When one is not a good judge of the history of one's republic, whereas one's age and inexperience in life are not conducive to a sober analysis of events, emotions splash out that are sometimes totally inadequate to the goings-on. So on that Sunday, closer to midnight, a small group of teenagers, who had taken part in the "action" during the day, began making a row in the park, molesting passersby, singing songs in loud voices.... Such things happen not only on June 14 and not only in Riga. And usually they end in a very banal way. As they ended this time as well: the militia detained ten persons who, together with their parents, will evidently have to answer for the gross breach of order in a public place.

This is roughly all. Neither the local authorities nor the demonstrators themselves gave in to the fuss on the air, thereby failing to live up to the hopes of radio instigators.

What remains is to recall what the so-called "victims of Latvia's Sovietization" were really like.

They were deported during the days when World War II was already raging. A mere ten days remained till the Nazi attack against the Soviet Union. The Baltic Republics were among the top-priority targets of the Wehrmacht. Soviet power had been established less than a year before. And it had quite a few opponents--from among those who ruled in bourgeois Latvia or those who faithfully served them. They made no secret of their enmity towards the people's rule and hatched conspiracies so as to stab the Red Army in the back with the beginning of hostilities. That was the reason why the more active leaders of the old regime, former police officials and part of the members of the Aizsaegi organization--parliamentary profascist "defence detachments" were deported to the Soviet Union's hinterland in the administrative order.

Members of their families were also sent with them. There is no arguing that deportation in relation to them seems to be an extremely harsh measure. But the war was drawing nearer at that time. The situation left no time for thought. And there was a real danger on the part of those who had prepared to fight against Soviet power on the side of Nazism.

Latvia was not spared the horrors of the fascist yoke--314,000 civilian Letts--old men, women and children--and 330,000 POWs were tortured to death by the Nazi invaders and their henchmen.... The mourning "voices" keep silent about this. Just as they say nothing about the fact that after the war most of those deported across the Urals returned home. Among them were also former ministers of bourgeois Latvia--Janis Balodis (war), Atis Kenins (education) and Vilhelms Munters (foreign affairs)....

Incidentally, after June 14, the radio trouble shooters prefer not to make any mention about Latvia at all. As if there was no fuss and no expectations of "massive discontent with the Soviets".... And what, if anything, can be said if the Soviet Union has failed to justify the hopes of those for whom "the worse it is in the USSR, the better for the West?"

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CSO: 18120246

## ACADEMICIANS VOICE OPPOSITION TO POWER STATION IN LATVIA

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 32, 16-23 Aug 87 p 15

[Article by Valery Zaitsev]

[Text] The beginning of the construction of the Daugavpils hydroelectric power station on the Daugava River in Latvia has given rise to strong objections. (MN wrote about this in its No. 20, 1987 issue.) The Biosphere Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences has held a visiting session at the Latvian Academy of Sciences in Riga, the Republic's capital, in the course of which the potential economic, ecological and social consequences of the project came up for heated discussion.

THE TWO DAYS the biologists, economists, designers and power specialists spent in session were obviously not enough, for they continued their debate at the press conference that followed, and had to be reminded that a press conference was a time for questions from the media.

The arguments put forward by the project's opponents were most impressive and well grounded. Mention should be made, above all, of the conclusions arrived at by the governments of the two neighbouring Republics, Latvia and Byelorussia, which agreed that the construction of the power plant was inexpedient. For one, the future reservoir would have submerged too vast a territory in both Republics.

Professor Mikhail Lemeshev, a prominent figure in the study of the economic aspects of ecology, clearly demonstrated that the project had been prepared at a low ecology economic level and that it ought to be turned down in principle, not just revised.

Under the pressure of the indisputable expert arguments, the designers and power engineers had to acknowledge their mistakes.

In the opinion of Academician Alexei Treshnikov, who presided over the discussion, the construction of the Daugavpils hydropower station was *inexpedient* from every point of view - economic, ecological and social. The USSR Academy of Sciences, he said, would present its conclusions to the USSR Council of Ministers.

It was said at the press conference that the discussion of the inadequate project had cautioned against a major mistake and, moreover, had led to a large-scale search for alternative solutions. It also pointed to the need to devote more attention to ecological problems. The journalists were told that the Biosphere Scientific Council would suggest to the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology that a temporary group of experts be formed to look for alternative sources of power supply for the country's North West. Academician Rita Kukaine said that an ecological centre, to function on a cost-accounting basis, was being set up at the Latvian Republic's Academy of Sciences. The scientists were prepared to carry out expert examination of ecological problems.

Winding up the press conference, Academician Treshnikov said:

"We are learning to think in ecological terms. We are also learning to discuss things properly. I think our session marks the beginning of a large-scale and open discussion of ecological problems. I am glad that the press and the public of Latvia are taking an active part in this, for, indeed, ecological thinking must be learned, not only by specialists and economists, but by broad segments of the population, beginning from childhood. Still, the 'ABC of ecology' must be studied first and foremost by those involved in decision-making. The history of our development shows that we have paid insufficient attention to this problem, hence, the many mistakes extremely difficult to rectify."



LaSSR CP PRESIDIUUM EQUATES INCREASED SUGAR USE TO ALCOHOL

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 30 May 87 p 1

[LATINFORM report: "Session of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] On 28 May the regularly scheduled session of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held. The session was led by Ya.Ya. Vagris, chairman of this republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The following matter was brought up for consideration: "On Progress in Preparing for Elections to the Local Soviets of People's Deputies and Elections of People's Assessors to the Rayon People's Courts in the Yekabpilskiy Rayon and the Kirovskiy Rayon of Riga." A detailed report on the discussion of this matter will be published in the next few issues of the newspapers.

The session also discussed the matter "On the Work of the Tsesiskiy Rayon's Soviets of People's Deputies with Regard to Carrying Out the Laws for Combatting alcoholism and Drug Addiction." After listening to a report on this matter by the rayispolkom's chairman, R. Yu. Abeltinsh, the Presidium members noted the speaker's non-self-critical attitude to the work of eradicating this dangerous social disease. The number of chronic alcoholics in the rayon is increasing, the proportion of crimes committed while in a drunken condition remains high, and home brewing is becoming more widespread. But the chairman focused attention on citing other figures, those which do not reflect the objective state of affairs, including data attesting to the reduction in the sale of alcoholic beverages through the trade network. How can one be complacent, the session participants emphasized, when the same statistics affirm that during the first quarter of this year the rayon had a 46-ton increase in the sale of sugar, as compared to the same period of last year? This could only be caused by an increase in home brewing. Nor could R. Yu. Abeltinsh essentially provide an answer to the question of what the soviet organs intend to do in order to decisively eradicate drunkenness and alcoholism.

In objectively analyzing the contents, style, and methods of the work being done by the local soviet organs with regard to affirming a sober way of life, the speakers pointed out the fact that the rayon soviet has not become the coordinator of this work in the rayon. The decisions being made by the local

soviets, permanent commissions, ispolkoms, and their services regarding the issues of combatting drunkenness and alcoholism are often pro forma in nature; they fail to take public opinion into account and all too frequently are not reinforced by effective organizational measures.

Cited along with other mistakes were the insufficiently high standards demanded of staff directors for carrying out anti-alcohol legislation. Mentioned here were the names of Ya.Ya. Oshs and I.A. Noritis, directors of the Motor-Vehicle Repair Plant and the Ligatne Paper Mill; Ya.G. Spila, chief of the Repair-and-Construction Administration; as well as the leading officials of several other enterprises, organizations, and businesses where instances of drunkenness on the job have been revealed, and where the legal requirements with regard to dismissing persons found to be in an unsober condition have not been carried out. Neither the rayon committee of the agroindustrial complex's employees' trade union, the people's control committee and their local organs, nor the procuracy [office of the procurator general] have put a stop to these violations. The administration and trade-union committees do not provide guidance to the labor collectives in discussing instances of drunkenness; attention is not paid to reports from the sobering-up station.

Great concern was expressed regarding unsatisfactory work being done on preventing drunkenness among the younger generation. Dozens of juveniles have been arrested in public places in an unsober condition. However, there have only been a few, isolated instances of trade employees being held responsible for violating the regulations concerning the sale of alcoholic beverages. Teenagers inclined to violate laws have still remained unincorporated among the organized forms of work and recreation during the summertime. There has been an increasing frequency of juveniles using medications and household chemicals for narcotic purposes.

Also subjected to sharp criticism was the Division of Internal Affairs (I.Ya. Sturaynis, chief), which is not carrying out consistent work on discovering and putting a stop to instances of home brewing and black marketeering in alcoholic beverages. His staff members have exhibited ineffectiveness in checking out reports by citizens concerning such illegal acts and, in certain cases, do not even react to them. Measures are not being undertaken against those persons who maintain hangouts.

At the session particular stress was laid on the thought that the struggle to affirm a sober lifestyle has recently been slackened not only on the Tsesickiy Rayon but also in a number of the republic's other rayons.

The resolution which was adopted concerning the matter discussed here obligates the rayon's soviet, law-enforcement, and economic organs to immediately restructure their work on carrying out anti-alcohol legislation. All rayon soviets and their ispolkoms have been charged with the task of making a profound, multifaceted, and thorough analysis of the status of the struggle against drunkenness, home brewing, and drug addiction on the territories under their jurisdiction. They must also implement effective measures to ensure the strict execution of the laws which have been adopted on these matters.

The session ratified a statute regarding the deputy groups and positions of the LaSSR's local Soviets of People's Deputies in a new edition. The Presidium approved a statute on "Records of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet and Government." Other issues were also considered.

B.K. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian CP Central Committee, took part in discussing issues on the agenda.

2384

CSO: 18 10/760

LITHUANIAN SOURCE FOR LATVIAN PLANT PROVES UNRELIABLE

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 12 Jun 87 p 2

[Article by A. Ezerinsh, SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA special correspondent, under the "Soviet Latvia" rubric: "Task Set by Latvian CP Central Committee Plenum. Control Platform: Partnership Entails Obligations"; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA introduction]

[Text] Among the enterprises which seriously let down their colleagues in closely allied fields during the first quarter of this year was the Yelgavselmash Plant. With regard to agreed-upon product deliveries, it was short by an amount worth 452,000 rubles. What was the reason for this disruption, and what is being done to eliminate it?

I began to acquaint myself with the state of affairs at this plant in the office of I. Krastynsh, first secretary of the Yelgava Party Gorkom. He is the one who, together with a workers' group set up by a decision of the Latvian CP Central Committee Plenum, is keeping tabs on Yelgavselmash.

"I begin every day with an analysis of the summary operational data on how things are coming along at the plant," my fellow-conversationalist said. "And, to tell you the truth, there is still not much to be happy about. Although in May, by dint of the collective's truly heroic efforts, the monthly plan was fulfilled, and the total lag was even reduced by 120,000 rubles, in June the state of affairs has again become alarming. It's the same old reason: the Kaunas Elektra Plant is not keeping up to its scheduled delivery of electric motors for the drives of the farm machinery. All efforts made by the plant people and ourselves to get the Lithuanian partners to adhere precisely to their delivery schedule have so far failed to bring about the necessary result. We managed to establish a direct contact with their local party organs. They have promised to help us, but things have been improving at an intolerably slow pace. They are still short by more than 8,000 electric motors."

When I arrived at the plant, they had just dispatched to Kaunas the next truck--the 19th in a series--to bring back these electric motors.

"Fitting out and sending these sets of trucks, of course, costs us a 'pretty penny'," I was told by R. Vitolinsh, the enterprise's director, "but what else



can we do? It takes too long to ship things by rail. And we can't wait. As it is, the assemblers are on 'hunger rations'; they have hardly any work to do."

In the section where the farm-machinery drives are assembled there were unusually few people in the machine-assembly shop, and it was abnormally roomy. The conveyor bringing reduction gears along was moving slowly. It is at this point that the electric motors from Kaunas are installed in them. And when the entire assembly unit is ready, it can be shipped off to the closely allied workers in the Ukrainian Kovelselmash Plant. But here is also where there are not enough of the ill-fated motors. The Kovel people are also suffering because of this situation. And while the Yelgava people are bearing losses amounting to hundreds of thousands of rubles, their Ukrainian colleagues have already lost millions: due to the lack of complete sets of assembly units, they are unable to turn out even more expensive equipment. A breakdown in one link of the cooperative chain impacts all the partners as a matter of course.

"You should have seen the situation which evolved in our section at the end of the last quarter," I was told by S. Alekseyev, brigade-leader of the assembly workers. "Mountains of completely finished reduction gears were piled up all around. All we had to do was attach the electric motors to them. But there simply weren't any electric motors, and we messed up our quarterly plan. To make up for that, we began a crash-work program in the last 10 days of May. During this period we finished more than half of the monthly plan quota. Sometimes we assembled 300 units a day. But now since the beginning of June things have become too slow again. During the first day our shift completed only 18 units. Just when will all this come to an end, and when will we get the chance to work at a normal pace? All the more so in that we have introduced the state acceptance system, and crash work, as you know, is not the best way to help improve product quality."

"We've already become embarrassed to face our workers," said A. Kipaykin, the deputy director for production. "Every time we promise that the situation is just about to improve, and we'll start to work smoothly, but everything repeats itself again. And what can we do? Our representatives have spent weeks in Kaunas; all the leading officials of our enterprise have already been there several times, and we're trying to do everything in our power. We've sent dozens of telegrams to all levels with requests for help. Each month, together with the Kaunas people, we draw up a schedule to eliminate the shortcomings, but they've already violated it for the umpteenth time."

Yes, no matter how you slice it, the Yelgava machine-builders cannot be accused of a lack of persistence. Nor can we fail to acknowledge that the collective is really rooting for the plan and applying a great deal of effort to fulfill it. But then the following thought occurs: is it not true that the Yelgava people are putting all their eggs in one basket by placing all their hopes on the good-natured kindness of the Kaunas people? Because, of course, even fines began to be assessed against them only since the second quarter of the present year, even though they themselves have been carefully

paying fines to the Kovel Plant. Their total amount has already reached more than 200,000 rubles--something causing considerable damage to the plant's budget.

On the other hand, shouldn't the plant people attempt to find themselves a more reliable partner for cooperation than Elektra? Because, you know, the present times are characterized by the need to actively seek out new forms and methods of economic management, a rejection of stagnant, outmoded standards in work, including those to be found in the reciprocal relations with enterprises in closely related fields. All the more so in that our republic also has examples of this kind of thing. Just take, for instance, the Sarkana znaygzne Motor Plant. Having been in a similar situation with regard to the deliveries of items needed to complete their units, this enterprise found it possible to significantly advance the solution to this problem, to a large extent, due to their own initiative.

Be that as it may, it is necessary to find a timely solution to the situation that has evolved here. We cannot allow the plant to fall short in fulfilling the plan for the second quarter. For, of course, this would mean letting down its partners as well. At present there is still time to make up for lost ground. But with each passing day there is less and less time remaining. In this situation the republic-level Gosstab should surely also act more vigorously. Although its leading officials have likewise traveled to Kaunas, as we have seen, this visit has not yet brought about any genuine result. The sectorial ministry must also pay more attention to this enterprise and not let it languish alone with its serious problems. In short, the plant is in extreme need of help. And we simply cannot delay this any longer.

2384

CSO: 1800/760

LENINGRAD OBKOM ON SCIENTIFIC CENTER WORK IN SCI-TECH PROGRESS

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 87 p 1

[LentASS report: "In the CPSU Obkom"]

[Text] The Bureau of the Oblast Party Committee has considered measures for further increasing the role of the Leningrad Scientific Center (LNTs) and the Interdepartmental Coordinating Council (MKS) of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the management of the scientific-technical process. It was noted that the academic organs for managing science in the region are carrying out significant work in increasing the efficiency of research and development, and in the formulation of prioritized directions in the development of science and technology, actively realizing the scientific-technical leadership of the territorial-branch program "Intensification-90". They are solving many problems in the development of the material-technological base of academic institutions. The role of the primary Party organizations of the Leningrad Scientific Center in the conduct of cadre politics has been accelerated. Along with this, it was shown that the result-producing activity of the LNTs and the AN USSR MKS in the management of scientific-technical progress in Leningrad and the oblast has still not met the requirements of the 27th CPSU Party Congress and the subsequent Plena of the Party Central Committee.

No effective interaction of the management of the scientific center, the scientific councils of the MKS, the staff of the LNTs presidium and the section of the Institute of Informatics and Automation of the USSR Academy of Sciences- the main organization dealing with the implementation of the programs "Intensification-90", and "Science: Fundamental and Applied Research" has been organized. The active coordination of a substantial portion of the research and development carried out in the region has not been facilitated. Modern methods for the collection, processing and analysis of data on planned, conducted and finished research and its scientific-technical level, have been poorly used.

The potential of program planning has been insufficiently used for strengthening the links between the thematic plans of academic, branch institutes and higher educational institutions and the plans for technical progress of enterprises and unions. Concrete proposals for restructuring the management of science and scientific-technical progress in Leningrad and the oblast as a whole, have not been developed.

The staff of the Presidium of the Leningrad Scientific Center and the laboratory of the Interdepartmental Coordinating Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences demand the strengthening and systemization of work towards the qualification of scientific workers, and the rejuvenation of the leading cadres of the academic institutions.

Questions linked with the development of evaluations of the labor of academic and scientific collectives have not been satisfactorily resolved. This markedly reduces the level of the scientific-methodological leadership of the "Intensification-90" program, holding back the formation of similar programs in subsequent periods.

The party organization of the staff of the LNTs presidium, the council of secretaries of the Party Committees and the Party Bureaus of the academic institutions have not had the proper influence on the perfection of the forms and methods of the activity of the scientific center, and have not been able to uncover the causes of the deficiencies in their work, or mobilize the collectives to increase labor efficiency.

The Bureau of the Oblast Committee of the CPSU has obliged the Presidium of the Leningrad Scientific Center and the Interdepartmental Coordinating Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Leningrad to take effective measures for concentrating the efforts of the scientific collectives in solving the most important national economic problems, increasing the level of the research and development conducted, and accelerating the practical introduction of their results. It was proposed that an optimal regional list of priority fields of research in the 12th and 13th Five-year Plans be formulated and coordinated in the responsible ministries and departments. It was also proposed that the development of the program "Intensification-95" be started without delay, and that a more complete consideration be ensured for the coordinated plans and scientific-potential programs of the Leningrad Scientific-Research Institutes, higher educational institutes, and scientific-productive unions.

The Leningrad CPSU gorkom and the Party gorkom and raykom have been commissioned to increase the leadership level of the party organizations of the institutions of the Leningrad Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to strive to strengthen their influence on the activity of the collectives, increase the efficiency of scientific research, and to create a highly creative atmosphere for activity.

The Bureau of the CPSU Oblast Committee has drafted measures for strengthening the party influence on the activity of the interbranch scientific-technical associations and accelerating the development of the scientific-technical base of optical instrument construction.

Several other questions on party-political overseeing of the tasks which stand before the worker collectives of Leningrad and the oblast were also considered.

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PHYSICIANS FROM WESTERN USSR IN TAJIKISTAN TO FIGHT DISEASE

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 14 Jul 87 p 3

[Article by TadzhikTA correspondent I. Guseynova: "Medical Landing Party Attacks Disease"]

[Text] Three hundred medical workers in 52 brigades make up the "landing force," including persons from the Ukraine and Moscow, that has come to Tajikistan.

"The group that has arrived in the republic is part of a detachment of medical personnel from the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, " said Z. A. Tadzhivayeva, chief pediatrician of the Tajik SSR Ministry of Health in a conversation with a TajikTA correspondent.

"Yes--we all know during the years of Soviet power the mortality of mothers and infants in the republic has markedly gone down. This reduction has come about thanks to a material improvement in living conditions as well as a rise in the people's cultural level and the all-around development of public health services in the republic.

"Nevertheless, our index of infant mortality is above the union average. That is why our colleagues in the Ukraine and Moscow have come to us, including experts on infectious diseases of children, life-support system specialists, anesthesiologists, together with experienced nurses and also fifth-course students from the medical institutes. This is powerful support. In view of the existing situation the brigades are being deployed in the republic "hotspots"--obstetric and pediatric hospitals, intensive care and emergency wards, both in Dushanbe and in oblast and rayon centers."

"We are pleased with the way things have worked out," said N. A. Katayava, USSR Ministry of Health inspection officer said. "The brigades reached full strength even at the airport and were expeditiously sent off to their assignments, so that no valuable time has been lost. Tajik specialists, consisting of teachers and students of the Tajik Medical Institute, who have been involved in joint efforts, have rendered substantial assistance. A specially formed staff of the republic Ministry of Health, designed to coordinate the

efforts of local agencies and institutions for the expeditious resolution of problems arising in connection with the visiting brigades, is working out very effectively. I want to emphasize especially the warm and congenial atmosphere in the groups where our brigades are doing their work."

"We have been working in Tajikistan only two weeks," said Ya. V. Voznitsa, a brigade leader and senior scientific associate of the Lvov Scientific Research Institute of Pediatrics, Obstetrics and Hereditary Diseases.

"But the program is planned for two months. So it is still early to discuss the results of this joint endeavor. We may mention, however, some preliminary conclusions. The republic does not have enough large hospitals for infectious diseases. There is an acute shortage of pediatricians, of obstetricians and gynecologists, and of nurses. Thus we are faced with unfavorable and undesirable facts. Yet we can, and we must, go on. Our joint effort will enable us to work out joint recommendations."

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TAJIK OFFICIALS ASSESS STORM DAMAGE TO DUSHANBE-TASHKENT HIGHWAY

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[Article by L. Seberennikov: "Varzob, After the Deluge"]

[Text] The elements did not ask permission for their arrival, and yes, their appearance was once again untimely. No sooner had we survived one disaster than a new one swept over us. This time it was in the upper reaches of the Varzob Gorge. It has already been reported that an enormous downpour occurred during the night from May 30th to the 31st, bringing a massive amount of water and melting the snow in the mountains. The Varzob river violently overflowed its banks and a mud and stone torrent from the mountains came down on the Dushanbe-Tashkent highway.

This is the picture that took shape on June 1st from the disparate pieces of information which are arriving at headquarters concerning the struggle with the latest natural calamity for the Ministry of Automobiles and Roads of the Republic. But the overall situation remained unclear. The assistance of pilots was needed.

An Mi-8 helicopter of the Dushanbe Aircraft Factory piloted by the crew of commander A. B. Idrisov, passed over Dushanbe, heading smoothly for the Varzob Gorge. On board the helicopter were Minister B. B. Karimov, two of his deputies, the director of the Planning Institute, a worker from the Council of Ministers of the Republic, and workers from the organs of mass communication. All the passengers pressed close to the window at the same time, scanning the deserted road and the muddy and chaotic Varzob. However, up to the village of Gushar there was nothing much to look at. The consequences of the "handiwork" of the elements became apparent only five kilometers from the village: stones and mud from lateral banks or simply from mountain slopes had carried along fallen telephone poles and electrical transmission line supports and partial and complete sections of the road had been swept away.

The helicopter landed on the bank of the Maikhur, near its confluence with the Varzob. And then, surrounded by the noise of the helicopter, the occupants disembarked. Animated voices were heard. "Thirty dead have been counted from Gushar to Zidd" said deputy minister A. P. Kurgan with distress evident in his voice. "Any further counting was then abandoned". "And many sections of the road have been carried away," noted minister B. B. Karimov with

bitterness. "And it is not possible to go around them, because the precipices and cliffs prevent this."

The first local inhabitant encountered was V. T. Belentsev, the director of the avalanche station.

"On the first 60 kilometers of the road, there are three large piles of rocks. A bulldozer is working there," he said. "Lower down it is still muddy. People from there are leaving, they say."

People were in fact leaving. Taken by surprise by the storm, many were going by foot. From the helicopter they had been clearly visible on the deserted road. One such victim approached us. He was the driver of a lorry from Takob, S. Aliev.

"I've been to Zidd," he explained. "And now I'm stuck there. I do not know, looks like it will be for a long time doesn't it?"

Alas! It would be a long time, it was now possible to definitively tell this driver and the many others to be found on the road. The removal of all the consequences of the downpour would not be done in a single day. Of course, a rough thoroughfare will be made earlier, but all the same, it will not be done quickly, though the road builders will not spare any effort in giving them what they need. But power - this is in short supply.

Breaking up the first piles of the mountain debris, three DT-75 bulldozers, creeping back and forth, are pushing boulders into the churning river. It is no simple matter to displace this muddy-rocky bulk, which looks like a harmless heap from the helicopter. Not far from it is an intact ridge some three to four metres high, but the width is much more.

"From here, from the sixty second kilometer to the fifty eighth, there are thirteen large mud flows," says DEU-5 road foreman T. Umarov. "Before this they have cleared the road to the Anzobskiy crossing. They have already reached the summit. The goal is to open traffic along the highway on June 10. But they had to stop their work and put all their effort here."

On the return trip to the helicopter they encountered a bulldozer, which was going to join the other three. It was a C-100 and would be of greater assistance.

"It is still the same, and the power shovels will be here," said DSU-5 bulldozer operator A. Safarov.

"Work will be going on for several days," said road foreman Umarov. He, of course, did not know, and could not know the scope of the disaster which had befallen the Dushanbe-Tashkent highway. But the leaders from the ministry and other specialists who had seen the highway from the helicopter, already have general impressions and have made initial conclusions. The destruction on the road covers more than twenty kilometers, there are avalanches, rock and mud debris, with sections of the road completely washed away, and the



reconstruction of these sections must be done by the embankment method, while the river is still high and very turbulent.

"According to a preliminary evaluation," said the minister of highway use and construction B. B. Karimov, "ten million rubles will be required to rebuild the road. Additional equipment and much concrete will also be needed."

Of course, with such a large burden on the ministry itself, rapid solution of the problem will not be possible, and the immediate assistance of the concerned ministries and departments of the whole republic is needed.

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